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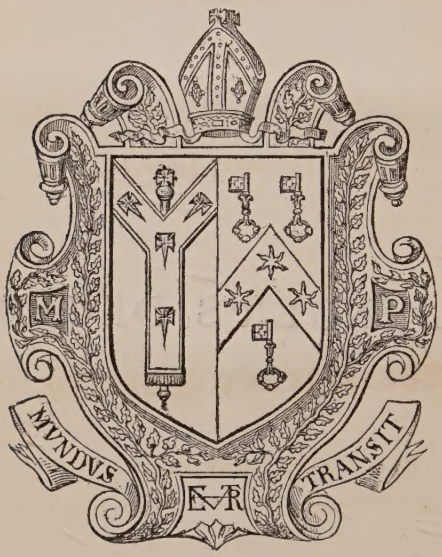

For the Publication of the Works of the Fathers and Early Writers of the Reformed English Church.

Bullinger, Heinrich, 1504-1575

THE DECADES

OF

HENRY BULLINGER,

MINISTER OF THE CHURCH OF ZURICH.

TRANSLATED BY H. I.

THE FOURTH DECADE.

EDITED FOR

The Parker Society,

BY THE

REV. THOMAS HARDING, A.M.,

OF WORCESTER COLLEGE, OXFORD, AND VICAR OF BEXLEY, IN KENT.

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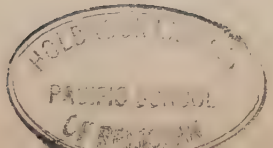
ADDENDA.

Page 229, line 23. See Bullinger de Orig. Error. Lib. 1. cap. 5. fol. 22. Tigur. 1539.

245, — 37. Owe: own, possess. Shakspeare. Twelfth Night. A. 1. Sc. 5. Ourselves we do not *owe*.

ERRATA.

Page 73, note 9, } for "above" read *Vol. II.*
102, — 2, }
185, — 5, for "spinosa" read *spinose.*
196, line 33, read, representation *or* likeness.
209, note 1, for "133" read "132."
223, line 5, place a comma at *obedient.*
229, — 24, } for "animœ" read *animæ.*
231, — 20, }
304, — 9, place a comma after *curiously.*
318, note 1, for "note 2" read *note* 1.
348, dele "note 4" and substitute [4 See above, page 329, and Hutchinson's Works, ed. Parker Soc. p. 134.]
353, — "note 3."



THE

FOURTH DECADE OF SERMONS,

WRITTEN BY

HENRY BULLINGER.

OF THE GOSPEL OF THE GRACE OF GOD, WHO HATH GIVEN HIS SON UNTO THE WORLD, AND IN HIM ALL THINGS NECESSARY TO SALVATION[1], THAT WE, BELIEVING IN HIM, MIGHT OBTAIN ETERNAL LIFE.

THE FIRST SERMON.

After the exposition of the law, and those points of doctrine that depend upon the law[2], I think it best now to come to the handling of the gospel, which in the exposition of the law and other places else hath been mentioned oftentimes. Now therefore, dearly beloved, as I have been hitherto helped with your prayers to God, so here again I request your earnest supplications[3] with me to the Father, that I by his holy Spirit may speak the truth to your edification[4] in this present argument.

Evangelium, the gospel.

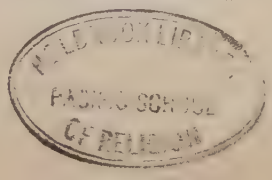
Evangelium is a Greek word; but is received of the Latins and Germans, and at this day used as a word of their own. It is compounded of εὖ, which signifieth good, and ἀγγέλλω, to tell tidings. For *Evangelium* signifieth the telling of good tidings, or happy news: as is wont to be blown abroad, when, the enemies being put to foil, we raise the siege of any city, or obtain some notable victory over our foes. The word is attributed to any joyful and lucky news concerning any matter luckily accomplished.

[1 veræ salutis omnia, Lat.; all things pertaining to true salvation.]

[2 aut legi utcunque adhærent, Lat. omitted; or are in some way connected with the law.]

[3 Rather, your supplications, and those most earnest.]

[4 with me—edification, the translator's addition.]



The apostles did willingly use that term; not so much because the prophets had used it before them[1], as for that it doth wonderfully contain, and doth as it were lay before our eyes, the manner and work of our salvation accomplished by Christ, whereunto they have applied the word *Evangelium*[2]. The prophet Esay, as Luke interpreteth it, bringeth in Christ our Lord speaking in this manner: "The Spirit of the Lord upon me, because he hath anointed me εὐαγγελίσασθαι; that is, to preach the gospel hath he sent me, to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance unto the captive, and recovering of sight unto the blind, freely to set at liberty them that are bruised, and to preach the acceptable year of the Lord." Lo here, the Saviour of the world doth in the prophet and the evangelist expound to us what *Evangelium* is, and whereunto it tendeth. "The Father," saith he, "hath sent me to preach *Evangelium*, the gospel, to the poor." And immediately after, to shew who those poor should be, he addeth: "which are broken-hearted, or broken-minded;" to wit, such as find in themselves no soundness or health; but, utterly despairing of their own strength, do wholly depend upon the help of Christ their cunning and willing physician[3]. Now the gospel, or good tidings, which is shewed to the[4] afflicted, is this; that the Son of God is descended from heaven to heal the sick and diseased souls. To which also, to make it more evident, he addeth another cause[5], saying, that the Son of God is come "to preach deliverance unto captives, and the recovering of sight to the blind," &c. For all men are held captive in the bonds of damnation: they do all serve a sorrowful slavery under their cruel enemy Satan: they are all kept blind in the darkness of errors; and to them it is that redemption, deliverance, and the acceptable year[6] of the Lord, is preached. Now this joyful tidings is called *Evangelium*, the gospel.

Isai. lxi. Luke iv.

[1 Bullinger refers to the Hebrew word בְּשַׂר, which the LXX. often render by εὐαγγελίζω. See his Comment. in Matth. fol. 1. Tigur. 1542. whence much also of this definition of the gospel is extracted.]

[2 whereunto—Evangelium, the translator's addition.]

[3 cunning (skilful) and willing, not in Lat.]

[4 his, Lat.; to these.] [5 alia, Lat.; other benefits.]

[6 verus utique annus jubileus, Lat.]

Therefore the gospel is of all men in a manner after this sort defined: The gospel is a good and a sweet word, and an assured testimony of God's grace to us-ward, exhibited in Christ unto all believers. Or else: The gospel is the most evident sentence of the eternal God, brought down from heaven, absolving all believers from all their sins, and that too freely, for Christ his sake, with a promise of eternal life. These definitions are gathered out of the testimonies of the evangelists and apostles; for St Luke bringeth in the angel of the Lord speaking to the amazed shepherds, and saying: "Fear not; for, behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy, that shall be to all people: for unto you is born this day in the city of David a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord." Lo here, he taketh from the shepherds all manner of fear with the bringing of good tidings; that is, with the preaching of health, which is a thing that is full of joy and always bringeth gladness with it. The tidings are, that there is born the Saviour of the world, even the Lord Jesus Christ: he is born; and that too unto and for us; that is, to the health and salvation of us mortal men. St Paul saith, that "the gospel was promised afore of God by the prophets in the holy scripture of his Son, which was made of the seed of David after the flesh; who hath been declared to be the Son of God with power, after the Spirit that sanctifieth, by his resurrection from the dead." And again: "The gospel is the preaching of Jesus Christ, according to the revelation[7], which hath been kept close from before beginnings, but is now made manifest, and by the writings of the prophets opened to all nations unto the obedience of faith, according to the appointment of the eternal God." And yet again more briefly he saith: "The gospel is the power of God unto salvation to all that do believe;" that is to say, the gospel is the preaching of God's power, by which all they are saved that do believe. But Christ is the power of God: for he is said to be the arm, the glory, the virtue, and brightness of the Father. Now Christ bringeth salvation to every one that doth believe: for he is the Saviour of all.

The gospel, what it is.

[Rom. i. 1—4.]

[Rom. xvi. 25, 26.]

[Rom i. 16.]

Of all this we do now gather this definition of the holy gospel: The gospel is the heavenly preaching of God's grace

The definition of the gospel.

[7 revelationem mysterii, Lat.]

to us-ward, wherein it is declared to all the world, being set in the wrath and indignation of God, that God the Father of heaven is pleased in his only-begotten Son, our Lord Christ Jesus, whom, as he promised of old to the holy fathers, he hath now in these latter times[1] exhibited to us, and in him hath[2] given us all things belonging to a blessed life and eternal salvation, as he that for us men was incarnate, dead, and raised from the dead again, was taken up into heaven, and is made our only Lord and Saviour, upon condition that we, acknowledging our sins, do soundly and surely[3] believe in him.

This definition, I confess, is somewhat with the longest: but yet withal I would have you think, that the matter, which is in this definition described, is itself very large and ample; which I have therefore in this long definition or description, with as great light as I could, endeavoured myself to make manifest to all men. Wherefore I neither could nor should have expressed it more briefly. This definition consisteth of just parts, which being once severally expounded and throughly opened, every man, I hope, shall evidently perceive the nature, causes, effects, and whatsoever else is good to be known, concerning the gospel.

That the gospel is tidings from heaven.

First of all; that the gospel is tidings come from heaven, and not begun on earth, that doth most of all argue, because God our heavenly Father did himself first preach that tidings to our miserable parents after their fall in paradise, promising his Son, who, being incarnate[4], should crush the serpent's head. Then again, the apostle Paul doth in express words say: "God in time past, at sundry times, and in divers manners, spake unto the fathers by the prophets, and hath in these last days spoken to us by his Son." And John before him is read to have testified, saying: "No man hath seen God at any time; the only-begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him." And again: "He that cometh from on high is above all: he that is of the earth is earthly, and speaketh of the earth: he that cometh from heaven is above all. And what he hath seen

[Heb. i. 1, 2.]

[John i. 18; iii. 31, 32.]

[1 now—times, not in Lat.]
[2 plene, Lat. omitted; fully.]
[3 modo credamus, Lat.—soundly and surely, not in Lat.]
[4 incarnandus, Lat.; being to be incarnate.]

and heard, that he testifieth." To this belongeth, that the prophets were believed to have prophesied by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. Now they did in the holy scriptures foreshew the gospel: the especial or chief points whereof were by angels descending from heaven declared unto men. For the incarnation of the Son of God is by the archangel Gabriel told first to the holy virgin, and after that again to Joseph, the supposed Father of Christ, and tutor[5] of the unspotted virgin. The same angel did preach to the shepherds the birth of the Son of God. Moreover, to the women that came to the grave, minding after their country-manner to anoint the body of the Lord, the angels declared that he was risen from the dead again. The same angels at the Lord's ascension did testify to the apostles, whose eyes were turned and surely fixed into the clouds, that he was taken up into heaven, and that from thence he should come again to judge the quick and the dead. And to all these testimonies may be added the voice of the eternal Father himself uttered from heaven upon our Lord and Saviour, saying, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am pleased; hear him:" which testimony of the Father the blessed apostle Peter doth in the zeal of the Spirit repeat in the first chapter of his second epistle. Therefore the preaching of the gospel is a divine speech, unreprovable, and brought down from heaven: which whosoever believe, they do believe the word of the eternal God; and they that believe it not, do despise and reject the word of God. For it ceaseth not to be the word of God because it is preached by the ministery of men. For of the apostles we do read that the Lord did say: "It is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of my Father which is within you." And therefore we read, that they departed not from Hierusalem, until they were first instructed from above, and had received the Holy Ghost. Neither is there any cause why the word of God should be tied to the apostles only, as though after the apostles no man did preach the word of God. For our Lord in St John's gospel doth plainly say: "Verily I say unto you, He that receiveth whomsoever I send receiveth me; and he that receiveth me receiveth him that sent me." Now our Lord, the high priest and chief bishop of his catholic church, doth send, not apostles only,

[Matt. iii. 17; Luke ix. 35.]

The gospel is the word of God, although it be uttered by the ministry of men. [Matt. x. 20.]

[John xiii. 20.]

[5 i. e. guardian.]

but all them also that are lawfully called and do bring the word of Christ. Therefore we understand it to be spoken concerning all the lawful ministers of the church, where the Lord doth say, "Whose sins soever ye forgive, they are forgiven them; and whose sins soever ye retain, they are retained:" and again, "Whatsoever thou loosest on earth, shall be loosed in heaven; and whatsoever thou bindest on earth, shall be bound in heaven." For in another place the Lord saith: "Verily I say unto you, It shall be easier for the land of Sodom and Gomorrha in the day of judgment, than for that city that receiveth you not, and heareth not your sayings." Now who knoweth not with how filthy and horrible sin the men of Sodom did defile themselves; and that the Lord rained fire, brimstone, and pitch from heaven, wherewith he burnt up both the city and her inhabitants? Who therefore cannot gather thereupon, that rebels and blasphemers of the gospel of Christ do sin more grievously than the Sodomites did; and that God, which is a sure revenger, will surely plague them for it, either in this life, or in the world to come, or else in both, with unspeakable miseries and endless torments? Let us therefore believe the gospel of the Son of God, first preached to the world by God the Father, then by the patriarchs, after that of the prophets, and lastly of the only-begotten Son of God Christ Jesus, and his apostles; whose heavenly voice doth even at this day sound to us in the mouths of the ministers, sincerely preaching the gospel unto us.

[John xx. 23.]

[Matt. xviii. 18.]

[Matt. x. 15.]

The gospel preacheth grace.

Secondarily, we have to consider what it is that the heavenly preaching of the gospel doth shew unto the world; to wit, the grace of God our heavenly Father. For the apostle Paul in the twentieth chapter of the Acts saith, "that he received the ministry of the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God." Now therefore I will at this present say so much of the grace of God as is sufficient for this place.

The word, grace.

The word "grace" is diversly used in the holy scriptures, even as it is in profane writings also. For in the Bible it signifieth thanksgiving, and also a benefit, and alms; as 2 Cor. viii. Moreover, it signifieth praise and recompence, as in that place where the apostle saith: "If, when ye do well, ye are afflicted, and yet do bear it; that is praiseworthy

before God[1]." It doth also signify faculty or licence; as when we say, that one hath gotten grace to teach and execute an office. For the apostle saith that he received grace; and immediately, to expound his own meaning, he addeth, to execute the office of an apostle. [Rom. i. 5.] Moreover the gifts of God are called grace, because they are given gratis, and freely bestowed without looking for of any recompence. And yet Paul, in the fifth to the Romans, distinguisheth a gift from grace: for grace doth signify the favour and good-will of God toward us; but a gift is a thing which God doth give us of that good-will, such as are faith, constancy, and integrity. They are said to have found grace with God, whom God doth dearly love and favour more than other. In that sense Noah found grace in the eyes of the Lord: Joseph found grace in the eyes of the lord of the prison: and the holy virgin is read to have found grace with the Lord, because she was beloved of God, and very dear unto the Lord, as she whom he had singularly chosen from among all other women. But in this place and present argument "grace" is the favour and goodness of the eternal Godhead, wherewith he, according to his incomprehensible goodness, doth gratis, freely, for Christ his sake embrace, call, justify, and save us mortal men. The grace of God, what it is.

Now here methinketh, before we go any further, it is not amiss to examine and search out the cause of this God's love to us exhibited. For we see that there is a certain relation[2] betwixt the favour of God and us men to whom his favour is so bent. It is a matter neither hard nor tedious to be found out. For in us there is nothing wherewith God can be in love, or wherewithal he may be moved or stirred up to embrace us: yea, insomuch as we are all unpure[3] sinners, and that God is holy, just, and a revenger of iniquities, he hath matter enough to find in us, for which he may be angry at and with just revengement plague us. So then the cause of God's love to us-wards must of necessity be not in us, nor in any other thing beside God (considering that nothing is more excellent than man), but even in God himself[4]. Moreover the most true scripture doth teach us, that God is of his own inclination naturally good, gentle, and, as Paul calleth him, *philo-* [Titus iii. 4.] The cause of God's grace.

[1 gratia apud Deum, Lat.; 1 Pet. ii. 20. Auth. Marg. *thank.*]
[2 correlationem, Lat.] [3 impurissimi, Lat.]
[4 ejusque natura, Lat. omitted; and in his nature.]

anthropon, a lover of us men, who hath sent his own[1] Son, of his own nature, into the world for our redemption: whereupon it doth consequently follow, that God doth freely, of himself and for his Son's sake, love man, and not for any other cause. Whereby immediately all the preparaments, incitaments, and merits of men, being dissolved by the fire of God's great love, do vade and pass away like smoke. For the grace of God is altogether free; and unless it be so, I cannot see how it can be called grace. But it behoveth us in a thing so weighty to cite some evident testimonies of the holy scripture, to confirm our minds withal against all sophistical trifles and temptations of the devil. Our Lord in the gospel said: "So God loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son for the world, that every one which believe in him should not perish, but have life everlasting." Lo here, this good-will of God, which is the favour and love wherewith God embraceth us, is the cause of our salvation. For Christ, having suffered for us, is our salvation. Now God[2] of very love hath given Christ both to us, and for us[3]. Neither may we think, that God was first moved by our love to him-ward to shew like mutual love to us again, and to give his Son for us; for he had determined, before the beginning of the world, to work our redemption through Christ his Son. And John the Evangelist in his canonical epistle saith: "Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to be an atonement for our sins."

[John iii. 16.]

[1 John iv. 10.]

To these testimonies, although sufficiently plain and strong enough, I will yet add some proofs out of the apostle Paul; that so this argument may be more evident, and that the great agreement may appear which is betwixt evangelists and apostles in this doctrine of grace[4]. Paul therefore saith[5]: "All have sinned, and stand in need of[6] the glory of God; but are justified freely by his grace, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesu." Again to the Ephesians he saith: "Ye are saved through grace by faith, and that not of yourselves, it is the gift of God: not of works, lest any man

[Rom. ii. 23, 24.]

[1 unicum, Lat.; only.]
[2 Pater Deus, Lat.; God the Father.]
[3 and for us, not in Lat.] [4 totius doctrinæ, Lat.]
[5 ad Romanos, Lat. omitted.]
[6 destituuntur, Lat. and Erasmus.]

should boast[7]." Again to Titus: "The grace and love of God our Saviour towards all men hath appeared, not of the works of our own righteousness which we did, but according to his mercy hath he saved us[8]." Likewise, in the second Epistle to Timothy, the first chapter, he saith: "God hath saved us, and hath called us with an holy calling, not according to our works, but according to his own purpose and grace, which was given us in Christ Jesus[9]." I think, verily, that if a man had been set of purpose to have feigned anything for the defence of this matter, he could not have framed any sentence so fit and evident as these words are. So now it is manifest, that the grace of God is altogether free, as that which excludeth all our works and merits; and this free love of God is the only cause and true beginning of the gospel: for which cause Paul calleth the gospel the preaching of grace.

The cause of the gospel.

But now, although the grace of God doth not depend upon us or our works[10], yet doth it not idly abide in God, as if it were utterly without us and altogether far from us, as the thing that is neither felt nor yet worketh in us. For we understood by the cited testimonies, that grace is the favour of God wherewith he loveth us men; we understood that men are saved by grace: for since God loveth men, he would not have them perish; and therefore he hath through grace sent his Son to deliver them from destruction, and that in him the justice and mercy of God might be known to all the world. But none are delivered save those that believe; therefore grace hath somewhat whereby to work in man[11]: for by the pouring of the Holy Ghost into our hearts, the understanding and will are instructed in the faith. To be short, grace (as I have already[12] told you) doth call, justify, save, or glorify the faithful: so that we must make our account, that the whole work of our salvation and all the virtues of the godly do proceed of the only grace of God alone, whose working we do at all times acknowledge

The working of God's grace.

[7 Eph. ii. 8. 9, gratia per fidem, Lat.]
[8 Titus iii. 4. 5, erga homines, Lat.]
[9 per Christum, Lat. and Erasmus.]
[10 or our works, not in Lat.]
[11 Rather, therefore again grace hath something to work in man.]
[12 in finitione, Lat. omitted; in the definition.]

and confess[1]. And that is again proved both by divine and human testimonies. Paul to the Romans saith: "Those which he knew before, he also did predestinate: and those which he did predestinate, he also called: and those whom he called, he also justified: and those whom he justified, he also glorified. What shall we then say to these things? If God be on our side, who can be against us? Which spared not his own Son, but gave him for us[2], how shall he not with him also give us all things?" Again, in the first chapter of his Epistle to the Ephesians, he hath referred the whole work of election and salvation, with all the parts thereof, unto the grace of God. Moreover, the holy fathers in the council *Mileventanum*, among whom also St Augustine was present, made this decree touching the grace of God: "If any man say, that mercy is without the grace of God bestowed from above upon us, believing, willing, desiring, endeavouring, studying, asking, seeking, and striving, (as of ourselves;) doth not confess, that even to believe, to will, and to be able to do all these things as we should do, is wrought by the pouring in and inspiration of the Holy Ghost; if he join the humility or obedience of man as an help unto grace[3]; and if he doth not consent that it is the very gift of grace, even that we are humble and obedient; he is directly contrary to the apostle, who saith, 'For what hast thou that thou hast not received?' and, 'By the grace of God I am that I am[4].'" Thus much say they. Now these divine and human testimonies being throughly

[Rom. viii. 29—32.]

[1 ubique, Lat.; throughout.] [2 pro nobis omnibus, Lat.]

[3 More correctly, and maketh the help of grace to follow after either man's humility or obedience.—Beveridge on the Thirty-Nine Articles, Vol. I. p. 383. Oxf. 1840.]

[4 There is a mistake in the reference: the following is the canon meant: Si quis sine gratia Dei credentibus, volentibus, conantibus, laborantibus, vigilantibus, studentibus, petentibus, quærentibus, pulsantibus nobis misericordiam dicit conferri divinitus; non autem ut credamus, velimus, vel hæc omnia sicut oportet agere valeamus per infusionem Spiritus Sancti in nobis fieri confitetur; et aut humilitati aut obedientiæ humanæ subjungit gratiæ adjutorium, nec ut obedientes et humiles simus ipsius gratiæ donum esse consentit; resistit apostolo dicenti, *Quid habes quod non accepisti?* et, *Gratia Dei sum id quod sum.* —Concil. Arausic. II. can. 6. Concil. Labb. et Cossart. Tom. IV. col. 1668. Par. 1671. This second council of Orange was held A.D. 529. Augustine was dead long before.]

considered, there is none, I hope, which may not understand that the grace of God is the same that I told you; to wit, the favour and good-will of the eternal Godhead, wherewith he according to his incomprehensible goodness doth embrace, call, justify, and save men freely for Christ his sake, our Lord and Saviour.

The controversy betwixt Augustine and Pelagius touching the grace of God.

The blessed man Aurelius Augustine had a sharp conflict with Pelagius the Briton concerning the grace of God. For the heretic did by grace understand nothing but the benefit of the creation; which as Augustine denied not to be grace, so did he vehemently urge that the apostle[5] did especially speak of that free grace, whereby, without any merit of ours, we are freely saved for Christ his sake. This did he urge therefore the more earnestly, because he saw that[6] the heretic affirmed that his own human nature was sufficient unto him[7], not to do only, but also to do perfectly, the commandments of God by free-will. But of these matters St Augustine doth very largely and religiously dispute in his ninety-fifth Epistle, *Ad Innocentium*[8].

1. Gratia gratum faciens.
2. Gratia gratis data.
3. Gratia operans, et gratia cooperans.
4. Gratia prævéniens, et gratia subsequens.

Many of the late writers, for teaching's sake, have divided grace into grace that doth things acceptable, and grace that is gratis or freely given: again, they have divided it into working grace, and joint-working grace: finally, they part it into grace that goeth before, and grace that followeth after. And the very same writers also reckon up the operations or effects of grace after this manner almost: grace healeth

[5 Apostolos, Lat.; the apostles.]

[6 Pelagium, Lat. omitted.]

[7 Rather, that human nature was sufficient unto itself.]

[8 Aurelius aliique episcopi, inter quos Augustinus, Innocentio Papæ, de Pelagio quem audierant jam ad presbyterii gradum evectum.—Aug. Ep. 95. (in the Benedictine Edition, 177.) Op. Par. 1531. Vol. II. fol. 83. col. 2. In the course of this epistle it is charged against Pelagius,—illum dicere gratiam, quam etiam cum impiis habemus, cum quibus homines sumus; negare vero eam qua Christiani et filii Dei sumus:—and it is replied,—Etsi enim quadam non improbanda ratione dicitur gratia Dei, qua creati sumus .... quia non præcedentium aliquorum operum meritis, sed gratuita Dei bonitate donata est; alia est tamen qua prædestinati vocamur, justificamur, glorificamur. It is also stated that Pelagius affirmed,—non solum ad facienda, verum etiam ad perficienda mandata divina per liberum arbitrium humanam sibi sufficere naturam,—as here alleged by Bullinger.]

the soul, and maketh it first to will well, and then to work effectually the thing that it willeth: so it causeth it to persevere in goodness, and at length to come to eternal glory.

But I am not so careful to reckon up the sentences of writers, to shew you every one's several opinion, (which both were an excessive labour, and also more than my ability is to do); as I am willing to cite the places of scripture (which is the one and only rule how to think, and how to judge rightly), to shew you thereby what the scripture would have you think: as I have in my former treatise, Of the grace of God, both briefly and evidently enough, I hope, declared unto you. And also the discourse of Christ[1], which followeth hereafter, (through whom the Father hath poured the most excellent and heavenly grace into us,) shall help to make up that which seemeth to be wanting here.

We are justified by grace.

But now, before I depart from this argument, I thought good to admonish you, that the sentences of God's word do not jar among themselves, when we do in sundry places read and hear, first, that we are saved freely or by the grace of God; then, that we are saved by the love of God; thirdly, that we are saved through the mercy of God; fourthly, that we are saved through Christ; fifthly, that we are saved through the blood, or death, or incarnation of Christ; and lastly, that we are saved through faith in Christ, or in the mercy or grace of God. For all these speeches tend to one and the same end, and do ascribe the whole glory and cause of man's salvation unto the very mercy or grace of God. The pledge of grace, yea, and our only Saviour, is the only-begotten Son of God betrayed unto death. Sincere faith layeth hold on mere grace in Christ, and nothing else.

God exhibiteth his grace to us in Christ.

Now therefore, having thus expounded according to my small ability that which I had to speak in general of the grace of God, I do here descend to handle that singular or particular work of God's grace, which is nothing else but that the merciful Father hath exhibited to us his Son in that manner and order as he promised him to us in the old prophets, and that in him he hath fully given us all things requisite to eternal life[2] and absolute felicity; because he is the Lord and Messiah, or only and true Saviour, which was

[1] disputatio de Christo, Lat.]
[2] salutis, Lat.]

incarnate, dead, raised to life, and taken up into heaven for us and our salvation. For Christ is both king and high priest, that is, our Saviour; he is the mark, the star, and very sun-light of the preaching of the gospel. Now in expounding these things particularly I will use this course and order. First of all, I will out of the law and the prophets recite unto you some evident promises of Christ[3] made by God unto the church; which shall be those especially that the apostles themselves have already touched and expounded. Secondly, I will prove unto you that God hath now performed that which he promised so long ago; to wit, that he hath already exhibited to us his only-begotten Son; and that he is that true and so long-looked-for Lord and Messiah, which should come to save the world. Lastly, I will shew you how that in this Son the Father is pleased and reconciled to the world again: in whom also he hath fully given us all things requisite to eternal life and absolute felicity. For he for us and for our salvation was incarnate, dead, raised to life again, and taken up into heaven, there to be a Mediator for ever and advocate unto his Father[4]. And in these points do lie the lively veins of the gospel, which flow with wholesome waters unto eternal life; for in them doth consist the sound consolation of the faithful, and the enduring tranquillity of a quiet conscience: without them there is no life or quiet rest.

The promises touching Christ our Saviour.

The promises made by God concerning Christ, which are uttered in the holy scriptures, are threefold, or of three sorts: I therefore, to make them the plainer unto you, do divide the promises of one and the same sort according to the times. The first promises were made to the patriarchs or ancient fathers before the giving of the law: and these again consist of two sorts; for one sort of them are plain, uttered evidently in simple words, without all types and figurative shadows; the other sort are figurative and couched under types.

The first evangelie, gospel, or preaching of glad tidings. Gen. iii.

The first and most evident promise of all was made by the very mouth of God unto our first parents, Adam and Evah, being oppressed with death, calamities, and the horrible fear of God's revenging hand for their transgression[5]; which pro-

[3 eximias promissiones de Christo, Lat.]
[4 there to be—Father, not in the original.]
[5 of God's—transgression, not in Lat.]

mise is, as it were, the pillar and base of all christian religion, whereupon the preaching of the gospel is altogether founded, and out of which all the other promises in a manner are derived. That promise is contained in these words of the Lord: "I will put enmity betwixt thee" (meaning the serpent, the devil, I say, in the serpent)[1] "and the woman[2], and betwixt thy seed and her seed; and it shall tread down thy head, and thou shalt tread upon his heel." God in these words promiseth seed; the seed, I say, not of man, but of woman; and that too, of the most excellent woman, to wit, that most holy virgin Mary, the woman that was blessed among all other women. For she conceived, not by any man, but by the Holy Ghost; and, being a virgin still, was delivered of Christ our Lord: who by dying and rising again did not only vex or wound, but also crush and tread down, the head, that is, the kingdom of Satan, to wit, sin, death, and damnation; taking away and making utterly void all the power and tyranny of that our enemy and deceiver. In the meanwhile Satan trod on Christ his heel; that is to say, he, by his members Caiphas, Pontius Pilate, the Jews and Gentiles, did with exquisite torments and death vex and kill the flesh, which was in Christ the lowest part, even as the heel is to the body[3]. For the Lord in the Psalms saith: "I am a worm, and no man. They have brought my life into the dust." But he rose again from the dead. For had he not risen again, he had not trodden down the serpent's head. But now, by his rising, he is become the Saviour of all that do believe in him. Out of this promise is derived that singular and notorious one, which the angel of the Lord reciteth unto our father Abraham in these words following: "In thy seed shall all the nations of the world be blessed." But Paul, in his epistle to the Galatians, doth in express words declare, that that blessed seed is ours[4], which was promised to Abraham. Now our Lord is called by the name of seed because of the first promise made to Adam and Evah, and because he was for us incarnate and made very man. Neither is this promise re-

[Psal. xxii. 6, 15.]

[Gen. xxii. 18.]

[Gal. iii. 16.]

[1 in the serpent, not in Lat.]

[2 et inter illam mulierem, Lat.]

[3 even as—body, not in Lat.]

[4 Christum illud esse semen benedictum, Lat.; that that blessed seed is Christ.]

pugnant to the first: for although Christ our Lord be here called the seed, or son, of Abraham; yet is he no other way referred unto Abraham than by the virgin, which was the daughter of Abraham and mother of Christ. Now what good doth the son of Abraham to us by his incarnation? Forsooth, he blesseth us. But a blessing is the contrary unto a curse. Therefore what cause[5] soever we drew from the sin of Adam, that doth Christ heal in us, and bless us with all spiritual blessing. Neither doth he bestow this benefit upon a few alone, but upon all the nations of the world that do believe in him.

The patriarch Jacob, being inspired with the Holy Ghost, foretold the chances that should betide his children[6]; and at length when he came to Juda among the rest, he saith: "The sceptre shall not depart from Juda, and a law-giver[7] from between his feet, till Schilo come; and unto him shall the gathering of the people be." [Gen. xlix. 10.] Lo here, in these words the Messiah is not only promised, but the very time also is prescribed, when he should be incarnate, with a declaration both what and how far forth he should be. The kingdom, saith he, shall remain under Juda until the coming of the Saviour[8]: and albeit that the tribe of Juda shall not always have kings to govern them, yet shall it not lack nobles, captains, lawgivers, learned men and sages, to rule the people. And therefore the evangelical history doth faithfully witness, that Christ came at that time when all power, authority, and rule was translated to the Romans, unto whose emperor, Octavius Augustus, the Jews were enforced to pay taxes and tribute. Now *Schilo* signifieth felicity, or the author of felicity; it signifieth plenty, store, and abundance of all excellent things. For Christ is the treasury of all good things. And the Chaldee interpreter, where he findeth *Schilo*, translateth it Christ. Finally, to him, as to their Saviour, shall all people be gathered: as the prophets did afterward most plainly declare, Esay in the second, and Micheas in the fourth chapters of their books or prophecies.

Furthermore, the types and figures of Christ are Noah

[5 A misprint in all the editions for *curse*: quicquid maledictionis, Lat.]

[6 et res futuras, Lat. omitted; and things to come.]

[7 vel scriba, Lat. omitted; or a scribe.] [8 Christi, Lat.]

preserved in the ark; for in Christ are the faithful saved; as St Peter testifieth, 1 Pet. iii. Abraham offereth up Isaac, his only-begotten son, upon the top of the same mountain where many years after the only-begotten Son of God was offered upon the cross[1]. Joseph is by his brethren sold to the heathen, he is cast in prison; but being delivered he doth become their Saviour, and is of all the people called the preserver of the Egyptian kingdom. In all these things was Christ our Lord prefigured.

The later promises also are of two sorts; either openly uncovered, or hidden as it were under a veil or figure. They are contained in the law and the prophets even till the time of the captivity of Babylon. The blessed apostle Peter doth in the third chapter of the Acts cite the prophecy of Moses touching the coming of the greatest of all prophets. The prefigured promises[2] of Christ are the sacrifices, which Paul in his epistle to the Hebrews doth in a wonderful summary shortly declare. The same Paul, in the fifth of the first to the Corinthians, applieth the paschal lamb to Jesus Christ. The like doth
1 Pet. i. Peter in his first epistle[3]. Again, the stony rock that was
[1 Cor. x. 4.] struck, and gushed out with water[4], St Paul calleth Christ.
John [iii. 14, 15.] And Christ himself in the gospel after St John doth say, that he was prefigured in the brasen serpent, which was lift up in the desert: the mystery whereof I have in another place more fully declared[5]. Many more there are like unto these; a good part whereof I have already touched, when I had occasion to treat of the ceremonies and their signification[6]; where he that listeth may read of it at large.

The unfigured and uncovered promises are almost without number in the Psalms and the prophets. Yea, the Lord him-
Luke [xxiv. 44.] self in the gospel after St Luke doth testify, that the description of all his office and business is at large contained in the law, the prophets, and the Psalms. And when St Peter had preached the gospel, wherein he promised both Christ and the full remission of sins to all that believed, he did immediately

[1 See Vol. II. page 151.]

[2 Rather, the promises in a figure.] [3 in I. capite, Lat.]

[4 Rather, and the water that flowed out. Cf. Bullinger, Comment. in loc. cit.]

[5 See Vol. II. p. 339; also, The Old Faith, p. 44.]

[6 See Decade III. Serm. 6.]

add: "All the prophets also from Samuel and these that followed in order, as many as have spoken, have likewise told you of these days." [Acts iii. 24.] David verily, in the second, twenty-second, and hundred and tenth Psalms, hath notably set down the two natures of Christ, his Godhead and his manhood. Again, he hath laid before all men's eyes[7] his wholesome[8] preaching, his eternal priesthood, his everlasting redemption, and most bitter[9] death and passion[10]. What shall I say of the prophet Esay? who was, by no small doctor of the church of Christ, very worthily called an evangelist[11] rather than a prophet: as if he had written a story of things already past and done by Christ, and not of things that should be done: so truly did he foretell the state of Christ[12]. Now he maketh[13] Christ to be very God and very man, born after the flesh of the unspotted virgin; who had to preach the word of life, like a good shepherd to feed his fearful sheep, to be the light of the Gentiles unto the utmost parts of the earth, to give sight to the blind, to heal the lame and diseased; to be betrayed by his own, to be spit upon, to be smitten, to be hanged betwixt thieves, to be offered up a sacrifice for sin, and finally to make intercession for transgressors, that he himself being just might justify all that believe in his name. Read Esay, seventh, eighth, ninth, eleventh, twenty-eighth, fortieth, forty-ninth, fiftieth, and fifty-third chapters; and also all the last chapters of all his prophecy, wherein he doth most fully describe the church or congregation of Christ Immanuel[14]. Jonas bare the most manifest type of the Lord's sharp death and joyful resurrection[15]. Micheas also doth name Bethlehem to be the place wherein Messiah should be born, whose beginning, to wit, of his divine nature, he doth refer to be before all beginnings[16]. He doth also foretell that the preaching of the gospel should from out of Hierusalem be sown abroad [Mic. v. 2.] [Mic. iv. 2.]

[7 tantum non inspectanda, Lat.; almost so as to be seen.]
[8 salutarem, Lat.]
[9 per mortem, Lat.; through a most bitter death.]
[10 See The Old Faith, p. 53, &c.]
[11 Augustine. See Vol. I. p. 51.]
[12 so—of Christ, not in Lat.]
[13 proponit, Lat.]
[14 Immanuel, an addition of the translator's.]
[15 The epithets are the translator's.]
[16 refert ad æternitatem, Lat.]

[Jer. xxiii. 5.] through all the compass of the world. Jeremy saith, that God would raise up to David a true seed or branch, that is, the looked-for Messiah; and in that prophecy he alluded to the law concerning the raising up of seed to the deceased brother. For the virgin, conceiving by the Holy Ghost, brought forth a Son, whose name is Jehovah, being very God in very deed, whom Esay calleth Immanuel, and is the true righteousness of all that do believe in him; for by Christ are the faithful justified. For the same prophet[1] in the thirty-first chapter doth promise in Christ full or absolute remission of sins and abundant grace of the Holy Ghost: which thing Joel also did not conceal. Thus out of many testimonies I have picked out only these few in number; for the whole books of the prophets are occupied in the description of Christ and his offices.

Deus verus et essentialis. [Isai. vii. 14.]

[Isai. xxxi. 33, 34.]

Joel [ii. 28—32.]

The last promises concerning Christ were by God revealed to the prophets, and by them declared to the church of God, even in the very time of the captivity at Babylon, or else immediately upon their return to Hierusalem[2]. Ezechiel prophesieth of the shepherd David, and of the sheep receiving that shepherd: which prophecies the Lord doth in St John's gospel expound of himself. The same prophet treateth very much of grace and frank and full remission of sins through the Saviour Christ, especially in the thirty-fourth, thirty-sixth and thirty-seventh chapters of his prophecy. Daniel, verily, hath visions and many dreams; but in them he doth so set Christ out unto us, that it is unpossible to have him more better, more evidently and excellently described. In his second chapter he teacheth us of his eternal kingdom, and telleth us that Christ should come under the Roman monarchy, at what time the Roman princes, being by affinity allied together, should mutually in battle destroy one another: which was fulfilled when Pompey and Julius Cæsar, Antony and Octavius Augustus, maintained civil war[3]. Moreover, Daniel's weeks[4] are unknown to no man, wherein he doth as it were with his finger point[5] at Christ, the coming[6] of Christ, and the reprobation of the Jews because of their disloyalty and unbelief.

John [x.]

Dan. ix.

[1 iterum, Lat.; again.]
[2 mox post captivitatem, is Bullinger's Lat.]
[3 imperitantibus, Lat.]
[4 in 9 cap. Lat.]
[5 toti mundo, Lat.; to all the world.]
[6 tempora, Lat.]

Haggee[7] the prophet foretold the manner how the temple should be builded, I mean, the true temple indeed; to wit, the church of Christ. Zachary doth excellently paint[8] to us many mysteries of Christ: he layeth before us the kingdom and priesthood of our Lord and Saviour: he commendeth to us that one and only eternal sacrifice, which is effectual enough to cleanse the sins of all the world: Zach. third, ninth, and fourteenth chapters. Yea, he prophesieth of nothing else but of Christ and his kingdom. Malachias foresheweth[9] the forerunner of the Lord, and handleth no small number of mysteries concerning Christ. Whereby we do perceive that Paul writ most truly in the first to the Romans, saying, that God did afore promise the gospel by his prophets in the holy scriptures. Rom. i.

Now by these holy promises we do gather this also, that there are not many or divers gospels, (although we deny not, but that the same gospel[10] was penned by divers evangelists;) but that there is one alone, and that too, as it were, eternal. For the very same gospel which is at this day preached to us was at the beginning of the world preached to our first parents[11]. For it is assuredly certain, that by the gospel were saved Adam, Evah, Abel, all the patriarchs, prophets, and faithful people of the old Testament: which thing we have in another place at large declared[12]. The gospel is not divers.

We are now come to the second part, where we have to shew you that God the Father hath faithfully performed to us that which he promised to our forefathers in giving to us his only-begotten Son, who is that true and looked-for Messiah, that is to be blessed[13] world without end. In making this matter manifest the evangelists and apostles of our Lord have taken great pains, and set it forth so well and faithfully that it cannot be bettered. God the Father hath through Christ performed to us that which he promised to our forefathers.

They shew that Christ doth come of the stock of David, descending lineally of the seed of Abraham: they tell that

[7 chap. ii. 7—9. Haggæus templum extruit, is Bullinger's phrase.]
[8 tradit, Lat.] [9 præmittit, Lat.]
[10 eandem historiam evangelicam, Lat.]
[11 Rather, was from the beginning of the world preached to the fathers.]
[12 This is the topic of Bullinger's treatise, The Old Faith. See also Vol. II. page 283.]
[13 benedictus, Lat.; who is blessed.]

his mother was the virgin, which did conceive by the Holy Ghost, and, being a virgin still, brought him into the world. They note the time wherein Christ was revealed, in all points correspondent to the prophets' prophecies. They add, that the place of his nativity was answerable to that which Micheas foretold. In the East there appeareth a star, which moveth the princes[1], or wise men, to go and salute the newborn King. They come therefore, and even in Hierusalem[2] do openly profess that the Messiah is born, and that they are come out of the East to worship and honour him. According to their words so were their deeds: for when by the leading of the star they had once found him, they fall down before him, and do, by offering to Christ the gifts that they brought, not obscurely declare how joyful they were, and how much they set by their Lord and Saviour[3]. In the very city of Hierusalem[4] the most just man Simeon with great joy of heart and godly gratulation doth in the temple openly testify, that God according to his eternal goodness[5] and constancy had given to the world his only-begotten Son, whom he had promised unto the fathers; therewithal protesting that he was willing to die[6]. He addeth the cause; "For that," saith he, "mine eyes have seen thy salvation," to wit, that *Schilo*, the Saviour[7], whom thou, O God, hast determined to "set before all people, a light to lighten the Gentiles, and to be the glory of thy people Israel:" that is, that he, shaking off all darkness, should bring the light of truth and life unto the Gentiles, to lighten them withal; and that he should be the glory and life of the people of Israel. Hereunto also belongeth the testimony of that notable man Zachary, the holy priest of God, saying: "Blessed be the Lord God of Israel; for he hath visited and redeemed his people, and hath raised up a horn of salvation for us in the house of his servant David; as he spake by the mouth of his holy prophets, which have been since

[Luke ii. 30–32.]

[1 magos viros primarios et sapientissimos, Lat.]

[2 in urbe Hierosolymorum regia, Lat.; in the royal city.]

[3 quanti Christum faciant, Lat.; how joyful they were, the translator's addition.]

[4 urbe regia, Lat.] [5 veritate, Lat.; truth.]

[6 tranquillissimo animo, Lat.; with most peaceful mind.]

[7 felicitatorem salvatoremque, Lat.]

the world began:" and so forth, as is to be seen in the first of Luke's gospel. Moreover John the son[8] of this Zachary, surnamed the Baptist, than who we read not that any one more holy was ever born of women, did with his finger point at Christ Jesus, and openly declare that he is that looked-for Messiah, whom all the prophets promised; and that God, by giving him unto the world, hath done that he promised, and wholly poured himself with all his benefits into and upon all faithful believers. "And as the people waited" (saith Luke), "and thought in their hearts of John, whether he were very Christ; John answered, saying to them all, Indeed I baptize you with water; but one stronger than I cometh after me, whose shoe-latchet I am not worthy to unloose; he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire." And in the Gospel after St John we read: "The next day John seeth Jesus coming unto him, and saith, Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world. This is he of whom I said, After me cometh a man which is preferred before me[9], because he was before me; and I knew him not: but that he should be declared unto Israel, therefore am I come baptizing with water." And immediately after he saith: "I saw the Spirit descending from heaven like unto a dove, and it abode upon him. And I knew him not: but he that sent me to baptize with water, the same said unto me, Upon whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending, and tarrying still on him, the same is he which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost. And I saw, and bare record that this is the Son of God." Again, when the disciples of John did envy the happy success of Christ, and that it grieved them to see their master John as it were neglected in comparison of Christ, John said to his disciples: "Ye yourselves are witnesses, that I said, I am not Christ, but I am sent before him. He that hath the bride is the bridegroom; but the friend of the bridegroom, which standeth and heareth him, rejoiceth because of the bridegroom[10]: therefore this my joy is fulfilled. He must increase, but I must decrease. The Father loveth the Son, and hath given all things into

Jesus is Christ, that is that looked-for Messias.

[Luke iii. 15, 16.]

[John i. 29—34.]

[John iii. 28—30, 35, 36.]

[8 filius beatissimus, Lat.; the most blessed son.]

[9 qui me antecessit, Lat. and Erasmus; qui ante me factus est, Vulg.]

[10 gaudio gaudet propter vocem sponsi, Lat.]

his hand. He that believeth in the Son hath life everlasting: he that believeth not in the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth upon him."

These testimonies are firm, clear, and evident enough, and might suffice for the confirmation of this cause. But let us yet of a many moe pick out and add a few, which may declare that Christ is already exhibited unto us. Therefore our Lord himself, whom we believe to be Messiah, when he had a great while been very greatly commended by the testimony of John, doth at length come abroad and preach the word of life. But it is not read, that in any age, before or since, there was ever any that taught with so great grace. And therewithal he shewed almost incredible and wonderful miracles, which do easily argue who he was, and were sufficient to win such a man with whom no words might possibly prevail. He was loving and gentle to sinners, repeating still and beating into their heads that he was come to save them, and call them to repentance. Therefore, when the disciples of John did once come unto him, saying, "Art thou he that should come, or shall we look for another?" he answered, "Go ye and tell those things to John which ye see and hear: the blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, the dead are raised to life, and to the poor is preached the glad tidings of the gospel." Now by these, his doctrine I mean, and his works or miracles, his mind was to shew, that he was exhibited the true Messiah unto the world, and that none other is to be looked for. Moreover in the synagogue at Nazareth, where he read and expounded Esay's prophecy of the coming of Messiah, he declared there that that scripture was in himself[1] fulfilled. And to the history is immediately annexed: "And all bare record unto him, and wondered at the gracious sayings that proceeded from his mouth." Again, in the tenth chapter of St John his gospel: "The Jews came round about the Lord, and said, How long dost thou make us to doubt? If thou be Christ, tell us plainly. Jesus answered them, I told you, and ye believe not: the works that I do in my Father's name, these bear witness of me. But ye believe not, because ye are not of my sheep." And presently after he addeth: "Ye say that I blaspheme, because I said, I am the Son of God. If I do not

[Matt. xi. 3—5.]

[Luke iv. 16—22.]

[1 in himself, not in Lat.]

the works of my Father, believe me not: but if I do, and if ye believe not me, believe my works; that ye may know and believe that the Father is in me, and I in him." In the seventh of John we read: "They that believed in him said, Will Christ, when he cometh, shew more signs than this man hath shewed?" that is to say: Admit we grant that there is another Christ to be looked for; yet this is most sure, that the other Messiah cannot do more and greater miracles than this man doth. Let us therefore believe that this is the true Messiah. Before Caiaphas, the high priest, and the whole council of the peers of Israel, also before Pontius Pilate in the judgment-hall of the Roman empire, our Lord Christ did openly in express words confess that he is that true and looked-for Messiah.

He verily, as the prophets foretold of him, did of his own accord die for sinners; the third day after that he rose again from the dead; he ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father. And the evangelists, reciting faithfully the words and deeds of Christ, do to the most notable ones always add: "All this was done or said, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet." Wherefore it were not worth the labour here to gather together the prophecies of the prophets, by them to examine the words and deeds of Christ, and by the manifest agreement betwixt them for to conclude, That God hath performed to us that which he promised unto our fathers in giving to us his only-begotten Son Christ Jesus, which is the true and looked-for Messiah. For this have the evangelists already done, and that too with so great faith and diligence, that for the plainness of the thing it cannot be bettered. To this place now ye may refer all that I have in my former sermons said touching the signification, or mysteries, fulfilling and abrogating, of the law.

And, to content ourselves with a smaller number of testimonies, might not this one, which is read in the fourth of St John, be instead of many thousand confirmations? The woman of Samaria saith to the Lord: "I know that the Messiah shall come, which is called Christ: therefore when he cometh, he shall tell us all things. Jesus answered her, I am he that speak to thee." Lo, what could be had[2] more

[2] said, edd. 1577 and 1587. dici, Lat.]

plainly? "I," saith he, "am the Messiah; even I, I say, that do even now speak to thee, and did at the first say, If thou knewest the gift of God, and who it is that saith to thee, Give me to drink, thou wouldst have asked of him, and he would have given thee water of life. For whosoever shall drink of the water that I shall give him, he shall never be more athirst: but the water that I shall give him shall be in him a well of water springing up into eternal life." They therefore are the most thirsty and unfortunate[1] of all men, which long for and look after another Messiah beside our Lord and Saviour Christ Jesus. The apostle St Peter in a meetly long oration, well grounded and confirmed with scripture and strong reasons, in the second of the Acts, doth shew that our Lord Jesus is that true Messiah: for with this sentence he shutteth up his sermon: "Therefore let all the house of Israel surely know, that God hath made both Lord and Christ this Jesus, whom ye have crucified." To the same mark tendeth that large and learned oration of the first martyr St Stephen, which is extant to be seen in the seventh chapter of the Acts[2]. Philip doth out of Esay's prophecy declare to the eunuch of Æthiope that Jesus is Christ. St Paul in all the Jewish synagogues putteth forth none other proposition to preach on but this; Jesus is Christ, that is, Jesus is the king, the bishop, and the Saviour of the faithful. And in the thirteenth chapter he doth at large declare and prove that proposition true.

So now these most evident and clear testimonies of holy scripture cannot choose but suffice such heads as are not of purpose set to cavil and wrangle. I will not at this present too busily and curiously dispute against the overthwart Jews, who look for another Messiah, and do deny that our Lord Jesus, the Son of God and the virgin Mary, is the true Messiah. The wretches feel that to be true, which the Lord in his gospel did foretell them, saying: "When ye shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, standing in the holy place, let him that readeth understand. Then let them that are in Jurie flee to the mountains. But woe to them that are with child and give suck in those days; for great shall the affliction be." And again, speaking of the city of Hierusalem, he saith: "The days shall come

The Jews deny that Christ is come, or that Jesus is Christ.

[Matt. xxiv. 15, 16, 19, 21.]

[Luke xix. 43, 44.]

[1 aridissimi, Lat.] [2 in 8 cap. Lat.]

upon thee, that thine enemies shall compass thee with a trench, and hem thee in, and lay seige to thee on every side, and shall make thee even with the ground, and thy sons that are within thee; and they shall not leave in thee one stone standing upon another; because thou knowest not the time of thy visitation." And again; "There shall be wrath upon this people; and they shall fall with the edge of the sword, and shall be led captive into all nations; and Hierusalem shall be trod under foot of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled." Now since they feel these things to be so finished[3] as they were by Christ foretold in the gospel; why do not the wretches give God the glory, and in other things believe the gospel, acknowledging Jesus Christ, the Son of God and the virgin Mary, our Lord and Saviour, to be[4] the true and looked-for Messiah? What have they wherewith to cloak their stubborn incredulity? They have now by the space of more than a thousand and five hundred years been without their[5] country; I mean, the land of promise that flowed with milk and honey; they have wanted their prophets; and lacked their solemn service and ceremonial rites. For where is their temple? where is the high priest? where is the altar? where are the holy instruments? where be the sacrifices that ought to be offered according to the law? All the glory of God's people is now translated unto the Christians. They joy to be called the sons of the faithful Abraham; they enjoy the promises made unto the fathers; they talk and make mention of the fathers; they judge rightly of the law and covenant of the Lord; they have the holy scriptures, and in expounding them they have great dexterity; they have the true temple, the true high priest, the true altar of incense and burnt-offerings, even Christ Jesus, the Lord and Saviour; they have the true worship, which was of old prefigured only in those external ceremonies: as I have already declared unto you in that place where I handled the Jewish ceremonies. The Gentiles are out of every quarter of the world called unto Christ Jesu. All the promises touching the calling of the Gentiles have been hitherto most abundantly fulfilled, and are even at this day. Now are we the chosen flock[6], according to the doctrine

[Luke xxi. 23, 24.]

[3 ad verbum, Lat.; to the letter.]
[4 venisse, Lat.; to have come.]
[5 the, ed. 1577. patria sua, Lat.] [6 genus, Lat.; nation.]

[1 Pet. ii. 9.] of St Peter: "We are the royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people; being called hereunto, that we should preach the power of him[1] which hath called us out of darkness into his marvellous light." Therefore let the unhappy Jews (unless perhaps they had rather to be entangled in greater errors, to be vexed daily with endless calamities, and so at last perish eternally[2]) turn unto Christ by faith, and together with us begin to worship him in whom their fathers hoped, and in whom alone is life and salvation. For, that I may with the apostle's words conclude this place: "God is made manifest in the flesh, justified in the spirit, seen to the angels, preached to the Gentiles, believed in the world, and received in glory[3]. And every one that believeth in him shall live eternally, and never be confounded."

[1 Tim. iii. 16; Rom. ix. 33.]

God the Father being angry with the world, is pleased with it in the Son.

We have now behind the last part to expound; the contents whereof are, that God the Father, who before was angry with the world, is pleased now in his only-begotten Son Jesus Christ our Lord.

First of all therefore I have to shew you that God was angry with the world: which is no hard matter to prove. For God is angry at sins. But the whole world is subject to sin; therefore it must of necessity be, that the most just God is mightily angry with all the world. And Paul saith: "The wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men." Again, the same apostle saith, that "all men are subject unto sin." For confirmation whereof he citeth these sentences of the holy scriptures, saying: "There is none righteous, no, not one: there is none that understandeth, or seeketh after God: they are all gone out of the way: they are all become unprofitable: there is none that doth good, no, not one. Their throat is an open sepulchre; they have used their tongues for to deceive; the poison of asps is under their lips: whose mouth is full of cursing and bitterness: their feet are swift to shed blood. Heart's grief and misery are in their ways: and the way of peace have they not known. There is no fear of God before their eyes."

[Rom. i. 18.]

[1 ut prædicemus vires illius, Lat.]

[2 juxta Christi Domini comminationem, Lat. omitted; according to the threatenings of Christ the Lord.]

[3 in gloria, Lat.; received up in glory. Tyndale 1525, and Cranmer 1539.]

Now lest the Israelites should answer, that these things do not pertain to the people of God, but to the heathen and ungodly alone, he addeth: "We know that whatsoever the law saith, it saith it to them which are under the law; that every mouth may be stopped, and that all the world may be endangered[4] to God." No man is here excepted. For to the Galatians the same apostle saith: "He hath shut up all under sin, that he may have mercy on all." It followeth therefore, that all the world was subject to the wrath or indignation of the most just and righteous God: as is at large proved in the second, fourth, and fifth chapters to the Ephesians. [Rom. iii. 9—19.] [Gal. iii. 22.]

But the heavenly Father is appeased, or reconciled to this wicked world, through the only-begotten Son our Lord Jesus Christ. And this I hope I shall abundantly prove by the only testimony of God himself. For the Father, by sending down a voice from heaven unto the earth upon Christ, first ascending newly out of the water after his baptism, and then again at his transfiguration in the sight of his disciples, did significantly say: "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am delighted, pleased, or reconciled[5]; hear him." This testimony is read to have been foreshewed in the forty-second chapter of Esay's prophecy. And Peter the apostle repeateth the same in the first chapter of his second epistle. Paul also did as it were expound this, and say: "It pleased the Father that in the Son should dwell all fulness; and by him to reconcile all things unto himself, since he hath set at peace through the blood of the cross by him both the things in earth and the things in heaven." In heaven is God, and we men here upon earth. Now Christ is the Mediator, which goeth betwixt us, and reconcileth us unto his Father, so that now we are the beloved of the Father in his beloved Son. For in the epistle to the Ephesians the same apostle saith: "He hath made us accepted in the beloved; in whom we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins, according to the riches of his grace." All this shall be more fully understood by that which followeth. [Matt. iii. 17; xvii. 5.] [Col. i. 19, 20.] [Eph. i. 6, 7.]

All things requisite to life and salvation are fully given us in Christ Jesus.

For now I must prove that God the Father hath in his Son given us all things that are necessary to a happy life and eternal salvation. I name here two things; a happy life,

[4 See Tyndale's Doct. Treat. ed. Parker Soc. p. 502, n. 1.]

[5 placata, reconciliata vel propitiata est anima mea, Lat.]

and everlasting salvation. By a happy life I understand a holy and godly life, which we live and lead quietly and honestly in this present world. Eternal salvation is that felicity of the life to come, which we with assured hope do verily look for.

Now we have in Christ a most absolute doctrine of a happy life taught us by the gospel; wherein also we do comprehend the example of Christ, his own trade of life. Verily, our heavenly Father hath made him our teacher, in saying, "Hear him." And he himself in the gospel after St Matthew sayeth: "Be ye not called masters; for ye have one master, even Christ;" who in the gospel after St John is called "The light of the world." In another place also he testifieth that his doctrine is contained in the holy scriptures; whereupon it cometh that he referreth his disciples to the diligent reading of the holy scriptures: touching which scriptures Paul, the teacher of the Gentiles and[1] the universal church of Christ, doth say: "All scripture is given by inspiration[2] of God, and is profitable to doctrine, to reproof, to correction, to instruction which is in righteousness; that the man of God may be perfect, instructed in all good works." Wherefore, although the whole world be mad, and that the obstinate defenders of the traditions[3] rather than the scriptures do whet their teeth for anger; yet, maugre their heads, the word of the apostle shall abide most firm[4], wherein he testifieth that the doctrine of the scriptures, otherwise called the christian doctrine, is in all points most absolute and thoroughly perfect. Touching which matter, because I have already spoken in the first sermons of the first Decade, I am therefore here a great deal the briefer.

[Matt. xxiii. 8; John viii. 12.]

[2 Tim. iii. 16, 17.]

Now concerning the eternal salvation fully purchased[5] for us by Christ, thus ye must think. Eternal salvation is the seeing and enjoying of the eternal God, and so, consequently, an unseparable joining or knitting unto him. For David saith, "There is fulness of joys in thy sight; and at thy right hand are pleasures for evermore:" and St John saith, "Now are

[Psal. xvi. 11.]

[1 John iii. 2.]

[1 adeoque, Lat.; and so.]

[2 Omnis scriptura, divinitus inspirata, est utilis, &c. Lat. So Tyndale and Cranmer.]

[3 traditionum vivarum, Lat.; of the lively traditions.]

[4 stat stabitque, Lat.; abides and shall abide.]

[5 paratam sive partam, Lat.]

we the sons of God, and yet it appeareth not what we shall be; but we know that, when he shall appear, we shall be like him; for we shall see him as he is." Moreover the Lord in the gospel saith, "Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God." [Matt. v. 8.] But all men are endued with unpure hearts: therefore no man shall see God; because no uncleanness abideth in consuming fire; (and God is a consuming fire[6];) therefore we cannot be partakers of salvation unless we be purely cleansed. But without the shedding of blood there is no cleansing or remission of sins: I do not mean the blood of rams or goats, but of the only-begotten Son of God, our Lord Christ Jesus. He[7] therefore took our flesh and blood; he came into the world, died willingly for us, and shed his blood for the remission of our sins; and so by that means purged the faithful, so that now, being clean, they may be able to stand before[8] the most holy God, who is a consuming fire. To this may be annexed the consideration of the incarnation of our Lord Jesu Christ, his death, resurrection, and ascension into heaven, whereof I did above make mention in the definition of the gospel; for in those points doth consist the whole mystery of our reconciliation: touching which I do in this place speak so much the more briefly, because in the exposition of the apostles' creed I have handled so much as seemeth to concern these points of doctrine; which whosoever will know, may look and find them there.

Christ alone is our life and salvation.

Now that Christ alone is our most absolute life and salvation, it may be gathered by that which is already spoken; and yet notwithstanding I will here allege some testimonies more, to the end that the verity and sincerity of the evangelical truth may be the more firm and evident to all men. That in Christ alone our life and salvation doth consist, so that without Christ there is no life and salvation in any other creature, the Lord himself doth testify[9], saying: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold, but goeth in some other way, he is a thief and a robber. Verily, verily, I say unto you, I am the door of the sheep: as many as came before me are thieves and robbers." [John x. 1, 7, 8.] Lo here, there is but one door only, through which

[6 The translator's addition.]
[7 Dei filius, Lat.; the Son of God.]
[8 habitare cum, Lat.] [9 in evangelio, Lat.; in the gospel.]

the way doth lie unto eternal life: and Christ is that door. They therefore, which do by other means than through Christ strive to come to life and salvation, are thieves and robbers; for they steal from Christ his honour and glory, considering that he both is and abideth the only Saviour: and in so doing they kill their own souls. The same Saviour in the gospel
[John xiv. 6.] saith: "I am the way, the truth, and the life. No man cometh to the Father but by me." Hath he not in these few words rejected and utterly excluded all other means of salvation, making himself alone our life and salvation? [1]This phrase of speech, "No man cometh to the Father but by me," is the same that this is, "Through Christ alone we come unto the Father." Moreover the Lord's apostles have so laid Christ alone before our eyes, that no man can choose but understand, that without Christ Jesus there is no life to be found in any other creature. The holy apostle St Peter in the Acts saith:
[Acts iv. 12.] "There is in none other any salvation: for there is none other name under heaven given among men wherein we must be saved." And St Paul, in the fifth chapter to the Romans, doth oftentimes repeat, that "by the righteousness of one man, Jesus Christ, all the faithful are justified." Again, the same
[Acts xiii. 38, 39.] Paul saith: "Through him is preached to you the remission of sins; and through him is every one that believeth justified from all the things, from which ye could not be justified by Moses' law." Like to this also he hath other testimonies in the second chapter of his epistle written to the Galatians. It is manifest therefore, that through Christ alone the forgiveness of sins and life everlasting are freely bestowed upon all the faithful; which gifts, as they are not without Christ at all, so are they not bestowed by any other means than through Christ alone. Concerning the remission of sins, which is the chief tidings of the gospel, I have at large already discoursed in the ninth sermon of the first Decade and other places more.

Christ doth fully work our salvation.

Now for the proof that our Lord doth fully absolve from sins, fully remit sins, and fully save repentant sinners[2], so that nothing more can be desired or wished for, and consequently, that the Lord himself is the most absolute fulness of all the faithful, without whom they that believe neither

[1 Certe, Lat.; Without doubt.]
[2 repentant sinners, not in Lat.]

do nor can wish for anything else to life, salvation, and absolute felicity, he doth himself in the gospel say[3]: "Every one that drinketh of this water shall thirst again; but whosoever shall drink of the water which I shall give him, he shall live eternally." And again: "I am the bread of life; he that cometh to me shall not hunger, and he that believeth in me shall never thirst." The apostles therefore, after they had eaten this celestial bread, that is, after they had once believed in Christ[4], when many departed and did forsake Christ, being demanded whether they also would leave him, did answer, "Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life. And we believe and know that thou art Christ, the Son of the living God." Lo here, they neither will nor can forsake Christ; because there is none other to whom they may join themselves: for he alone is the life and salvation of them that believe; and that too, so absolute and perfect, that in him alone they may content and stay themselves. With the writings of the evangelists doth the doctrine of the apostles fully agree. For Paul to the Colossians saith: "It pleased the Father that in the Son should dwell all fulness." And again: "In the Son doth dwell all the fulness of the Godhead bodily; and ye are fulfilled in him." And in the Epistle to the Hebrews he affirmeth, that the faithful have full remission of sins, because sacrifices for sin do cease to be offered; and that God doth by the prophet Jeremy promise so absolute remission of sins, that he will not so much as once remember or think on them hereafter[5]. To this place belongeth the whole epistle written to the Hebrews; and the conclusion of the eighth sermon in the first Decade, wherein I reckoned unto you the treasures that God the Father doth give to us in Christ his Son our Lord and Saviour.

[John iv. 13, 14; vi. 35.]

[John vi. 68, 69.]

Coloss. [i. 19; ii. 9, 10.]

[Heb. x. 2; Jer. xxxi. 33.

Upon this now doth follow consequently, that they have not yet rightly understood the gospel of Christ, nor sincerely preached it, whosoever do attribute to Christ Jesu our Lord,

The unsincere preaching of the gospel.

[3 rursus, Lat.; again.]

[4 Dei filium, Lat. omitted; the Son of God.]

[5 Proinde quicunque Christum fide possident, plenissime omnia vitæ et salutis possident, Lat. omitted; And therefore, whosoever has Christ by faith, has most abundantly all things belonging to life and salvation.]

the true Messiah, either not only, or else not fully, all things requisite to life and salvation. It is a wicked and blasphemous thing to ascribe either to men, or to things inferior and worse than men, the glory and honour due unto Christ. The principal exercises of christian religion cannot, by derogating from the glory of Christ[1], challenge anything[2] unto themselves. For sincere doctrine doth directly lead us unto Christ. Prayer doth invocate, praise, and give thanks in the name of Christ. The sacraments do serve to seal and represent to us the mysteries of Christ. And the works of faith are done of duty, although also of free accord; because we are created unto good works. Yea, through Christ alone they do please and are acceptable to God the Father; for he is the vine, we are the branches. So all glory is reserved untouched to Christ alone: which is the surest note to know the true gospel by.

The sum of the gospel.

Thus hitherto we have heard that God, the Father of mercies, according to his free mercy taking pity upon mankind when it stuck fast and was drowned in the mire of hell, did, as he promised by the prophets, send his only-begotten Son into the world, that he might draw us out of the mud, and fully give us all things requisite to life and salvation. For God the Father was in Christ reconciled unto us, who for us and our salvation was incarnate, dead, raised from death to life, and taken up into heaven again.

Salvation preached in the gospel doth belong to all.

And although it may by all this be indifferently well gathered, to whom that salvation doth belong, and to whom that grace is rightly preached; yet the matter itself doth seem to require in flat words expressly to shew, that Christ and the preaching of Christ his grace declared[3] in the gospel doth belong unto all. For we must not imagine that in heaven there are laid two books, in the one whereof the names of them are written that are to be saved, and so to be saved, as it were of necessity, that, do what they will against the word of Christ and commit they never so heinous offences, they cannot possibly choose but be saved; and that in the other are contained the names of them which, do what they can and live they never so holily, yet cannot avoid

[1 by derogating—Christ, not in Lat.]
[2 hujus, Lat. omitted; of this (glory).]
[3 allatam vel annunciatam, Lat.]

everlasting damnation. Let us rather hold, that the holy gospel of Christ doth generally preach to the whole world the grace of God, the remission of sins, and life everlasting. And in this belief we must confirm our minds with the word of God, by gathering together some evident places of the holy scriptures, which do manifestly prove that it is even so. Of which sort are these sayings following: "In thy Seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed," Genesis xxii. "Every one that calleth upon the name of the Lord shall be saved," Joel ii. "We have all gone astray like sheep; and God hath laid upon him the iniquity of us all," Esay liii. "Come to the waters, all ye that thirst," Esay lv. There are of this sort innumerable places in the old Testament. Now in the gospel the Lord saith: "Every one that asketh receiveth; and he that seeketh findeth," &c. Matt. vii. "Come to me, all ye that labour and are heavy loaden, and I will ease you of your burden," Matt. xi. "Teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father," &c. Matt. xxviii. "Go ye into the whole world, and preach the gospel unto all creatures: whosoever believeth and is baptized, he shall be saved," Mark xvi. "So God loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son, that every one which believeth in him should not perish, but have eternal life," John iii. In the Acts of the Apostles St Peter saith: "Of a truth I perceive that there is no respect of persons with God; but in every nation he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is acceptable unto him," Acts x. Paul in the third to the Romans saith: "The righteousness of God by faith in Jesus Christ cometh unto all and upon all them that believe." And in the tenth chapter he saith: "The same Lord over all is rich to all them that call upon him." In his Epistle to Titus he saith: "There hath appeared the grace of God that is healthful to all men[4]." And in the first to Timothy, the second chapter, he saith: "God will have all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth." These and such like are the manifest testimonies, whereupon all the faithful do firmly stay themselves.

Wherefore all men are not saved.

But now if thou demandest, how it happeneth that all men are not saved, since the Lord would that all should be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth; the Lord

[4 chap. ii. 11, marg.]

[Matth. xx. 16.] in the gospel doth himself answer thee, saying: "Many indeed are called, but few are chosen." Which sentence he doth in the fourteenth of St Luke's gospel more plainly expound, where he doth in a parable shew the causes why a great part of mortal men doth not obtain eternal salvation, while they prefer earthly things and transitory before celestial or heavenly matters. For every one had a several excuse to cloke his disobedience withal: one had bought a farm; another had five yokes of oxen to try; the third had newly married a wife. And in the gospel after St John [John iii. 19.] the Lord saith: "This is condemnation, because the light came into the world, and men loved darkness more than the light." With this doctrine of the evangelists doth that saying of the apostle agree, 2 Cor. iv. And in the first to Timothy, the fourth chapter, he saith: "God is the Sa- The faithful are saved. viour of all men, especially of those that believe." Whereupon we gather, that God, in the preaching of the gospel, requireth faith in every one of us: and by faith it is manifest that we are made partakers of all the goodness and gifts of Christ. And verily there is a relation[1] betwixt faith and [Mark xvi. 16.] the gospel; for in the gospel after St Mark the Lord annexed faith to the preaching of the gospel. And Paul [Rom. i. 5, 16.] saith, that "to him was committed the preaching of the gospel, unto the obedience of faith." Again he saith: "The gospel is the power of God unto salvation to all them that do believe." And in the tenth chapter to the Romans he doth by gradation shew that the gospel is received by faith. But that faith may be rightly planted in the hearts of men, it is needful that the preaching of repentance do first go before: for which cause I, in the latter end of the definition of the gospel, added, "So that we, acknowledging our sins, may believe in Christ:" that is to say, the Lord will be our Saviour and give us life everlasting, if we acknowledge our sins, and do believe in him. And therefore here now may be annexed the treatises of faith and repentance. Touching faith, I have already largely spoken in the fourth, fifth, and sixth sermons of the first Decade. Concerning repentance I will hereafter speak in a several sermon by itself. In this place I will only touch summarily such points of repentance[2] as seem to make for the demonstration of the gospel.

[1 correlatio, Lat.] [2 of repentance, not in Lat.]

Our Lord Christ Jesus doth in the preaching of the gospel require faith and repentance: neither did he himself, when he preached the gospel, proceed any other way. For Mark hath: "Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the gospel of the kingdom of God, and saying, The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand; repent, and believe the gospel." Neither did he otherwise instruct his disciples, when he sent them to preach the gospel unto all nations; for St Luke saith: "Christ said to his disciples, So it is written, and so it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise again the third day from the dead; and that in his name should be preached repentance and the forgiveness of sins unto all nations." St Paul, like a good scholar following his master, in the Acts of the Apostles saith: "Ye know that I have held back nothing that was profitable unto you, but have shewed you, and have taught you openly and throughout every house, witnessing both to the Jews, and also to the Greeks, the repentance that is toward God, and the faith that is toward our Lord Jesus Christ." [3] In his Epistle to the Romans, where he doth compendiously[4] handle the gospel, he taketh occasion to begin the preaching thereof at sin, convincing both Jews and Gentiles to be subject thereunto. Now he beginneth at sin to this end and purpose, that every one, descending into himself, may see and acknowledge that in himself he hath no righteousness, but that by nature[5] he is the son of wrath, death, and damnation: not that such acknowledging of sins doth of itself make us acceptable unto God, or else deserve remission of sins and life everlasting; but that after a sort[6] it doth prepare a way in the minds of men to receive faith in Christ Jesus, and so by that means to embrace Christ Jesus himself, who is our only and absolute righteousness; for "the whole need not the physician, but such as are sick and diseased." They therefore, which think themselves to be clear without sins and righteous of themselves, do utterly reject Christ, and make his death of none effect[7]: but on the other side, they that feel the diseases of the mind, and do from the bottom

The gospel teacheth faith and repentance.

[Mark i. 14, 15.]

[Luke xxiv. 46, 47.]

[Acts xx. 20, 21.]

[3 Certe, Lat.; Without doubt.] [4 methodice, Lat.]
[5 sua natura, Lat.; by his own nature.]
[6 suo modo, Lat.]
[7 and make—effect; an addition of the translator's.]

of their hearts confess that they are sinners and unrighteous, not putting any trust in their own strength and merits, do even pant for the haste that they make to Christ; which when they do, then Christ doth offer himself in the gospel, promising unto them remission of sins and life everlasting, as he that came to heal the sick and to save repentant sinners. But the promise is received by faith, and not by works: therefore the gospel, and Christ in the gospel, are received by faith. For we must diligently distinguish betwixt the precepts and the promises. The promises are received by faith: the precepts are accomplished by works. Whereupon Paul is read to have said: "If the inheritance be of the law, then is it not now of promise: but God gave Abraham the inheritance by promise." The same apostle to the Romans, conferring the law and the gospel together, doth say: "The righteousness which is of the law doth say, Whosoever doth these things shall live by them; but the righteousness of faith doth say, If thou believest, thou shalt be saved." The law therefore is grounded upon works, whereunto it seemeth to attribute righteousness: but because no man doth in works fulfil the law, therefore is no man justified by works, or by the law. The gospel is not grounded upon works: for sinners acknowledge nothing in themselves but sin and wickedness; for they feel in themselves that they are wholly corrupted: and therefore they fly to the mercy of God, in whose promises they put their trust, hoping verily that they shall freely obtain remission of their sins, and that for Christ his sake they are received into the number of the sons of God.

How Christ is received.

[Gal. iii. 18.]

[Rom. x. 5—9.]

I would speak more in this place concerning faith in Jesus Christ, the remission of sins, and the inheritance of life everlasting, if I had not already in the first Decade declared them at large. Here by the way ye have to remember, that the gospel is not sincerely preached, when ye are taught that we are made partakers of the life of Christ for our own deserts and meritorious works. For we are freely saved[1], without respect of any works of ours, either first or last[2].

And although I have oftener than once handled this

[1 per fidem, Lat. omitted; through faith.]

[2 operum nostrorum, sive præcedentium, sive sequentium, Lat.]

argument in these sermons of mine; yet because it is the hook whereupon the hinge of the evangelical doctrine (which is the door to Christ[3]) doth hang; and that this doctrine (to wit, that Christ is received by faith, and not by works) is of many men very greatly resisted; I will, for the declaration and confirmation sake thereof, produce here two places only, but such as be apparent enough and evident to prove and confirm it by: the one out of the gospel of Christ our Lord, the other out of Paul's Epistles.

Christ is received by faith, and not by works.

Our Lord Jesus Christ, being about to teach briefly the way to true salvation, that is, to preach the glad tidings of life unto Nicodemus, in the gospel after St John, doth first of all begin at repentance, and doth wholly take Nicodemus from himself, leaving him no merits of his own wherein to put his trust. For while he doth utterly condemn the first birth of man, as that which is nothing available to obtain eternal life, what doth he, I beseech you, leave to Nicodemus, wherein he may brag or make his boast? For he doth expressly say: "Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Unless a man be born from above[4], he cannot see the kingdom of God." If the first birth and the gifts[5] thereof were able to promote a man to the kingdom of God, what need then should he have to be born the second time? The second birth is wrought by the means of the Holy Ghost, which, being from heaven poured into our hearts, doth bring us to the knowledge of ourselves, so that we may easily perceive, assuredly know, and sensibly feel, that in our flesh there is no life, no integrity, or righteousness at all; and so consequently, that no man is saved by his own strength or merits. What then? The Spirit forsooth doth inwardly teach[6] us that which the sound of the gospel doth outwardly tell us, that we are saved by the merit of the Son of God[7]. For the Lord in the gospel saith: "No man ascendeth into heaven, but he that descended from heaven, the Son of man that is in heaven." For in another place he doth more plainly say: "No man cometh to the Father but by me." And again, to Nicodemus he saith: "As Moses did lift up the serpent in the wilderness, so must the Son of man be

How Christ did preach the gospel.

Of regeneration more largely is spoken in the sermon of repentance.

[John iii. 13; xiv. 6; iii. 14, 15.]

[3 which—to Christ, not in Lat.]
[4 So Marg. Auth. Ver. John iii. 3.] [5 facultates, Lat.]
[6 pergit et docet, Lat.] [7 fide, Lat. omitted; by faith.]

lift up; that every one which believeth in him should not perish, but have eternal life." Now Moses did hang up the brasen serpent for the health and recovery of them that were poisoned[1] by the bitings of the serpents. For they died presently that were stung with the serpents[2], unless they did immediately look up to the brasen serpent; for at the very sight thereof the poisoned sting did lose all force, and the person envenomed was out of hand restored and cured again. Neither was there in the host of the Israelites any other medicine but that alone, which whosoever despised he died without remedy. For the force of the poison was not expelled, and the life of the infected was not preserved, either by the power of prayers, or the multitude of sacrifices, or medicinable herbs, or any kind of physic, or other means of man's invention[3]: if any would escape the peril of death, it behoved him to behold the brasen serpent aloft. Now that brasen serpent was a type or figure of Christ our Lord; who, being lift up upon the cross, is ordained of God to be the only salvation. But now to whom doth that saving health befall? To them, forsooth, that do behold him being so lift up. The Lord himself telleth us what "to behold" doth signify, and instead thereof doth put "to believe." Therefore no works, none other means, nor merits of ours do save us from eternal death and from the force of sin, that is, the poison wherewith we are all infected by the old serpent, our adversary Satan. Faith alone, whereby we believe in Christ, who was lift up for the remission of our sins, and in whom alone our life and sure salvation doth assuredly consist, is the only thing that quickeneth us which are already dying by the envenomed sting of Satan, which is sin[4].

Hear, moreover, what the Lord doth add, instructing Nicodemus yet more fully in the true faith, and making the only cause of our salvation to be the mere and only grace of God, which is received by faith in Christ. "For so" (saith he) "God loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son, that every one which believeth in him should not perish, but have eternal life. For God sent not his Son[5]

[1 morientum e veneno, Lat.; that were dying of the poison.]
[2 dipsades, Lat.] [3 See The Old Faith, p. 44.]
[4 which are—sin; an addition of the translator's.]
[5 in mundum, Lat.; into the world.]

to condemn the world; but that the world might be saved by him. He that believeth in him is not condemned: but he that believeth not in him is already condemned, because he believeth not in the name of the only-begotten Son of God." Lo, what could be spoken more plainly? By faith we are made partakers of Christ. By repeating faith so often his meaning was so to beat it into our heads, that no man should hereafter do once so much as doubt of so manifest and evident a piece of doctrine. But if here now thou dost little set by the authority of Christ, then whose authority wilt thou esteem? But thou wilt not, I know, reject his testimony. Yet albeit that his warrant is sufficient, give ear notwithstanding to that disciple whom the Lord loved, who in his epistle expounding as it were the words of the Lord, and by the way of exposition repeating and beating them into all men's minds, doth strongly cry out: "If we receive 1 John v.
the witness of men, the witness of God is greater: for this is the witness of God which he testified of his Son. He that believeth in the Son hath the testimony in himself: he that believeth not God doth make him a liar, because he believed not the record that he[6] gave of his Son. And this is the record, that God hath given us eternal life, and this life is in his Son. He that hath the Son hath life; and he that hath not the Son of God hath not life." But what else is it to have the Son of God than to believe in him? For this sense is gathered by that which went before, being of itself so evident, that for me to add anything unto it, is to do nothing else but as it were to go about with a tallow-candle to help or adlight the sun at his rising.

How Paul did preach the gospel.

Now are we come to the place of St Paul, which is to be seen in the third and fourth chapters of his epistle to the Romans. "The righteousness of God," saith he, "without the law is made manifest, being witnessed by the testimony of the law and the prophets." Paul in this place doth preach the gospel most evidently; for I know not any other place wherein he doth it more plainly. He teacheth herein how we are justified before God, what is the true righteousness and salvation of mankind, and by what means it cometh unto us. He saith, that the righteousness of God, that is to say, the righteousness which God bestoweth, or which doth

[6 Deus, Lat.; God.]

prevail[1] before God, is revealed without the law; that is to say, doth come unto us without the help of the law, to wit, without the aid and merits of the works of the law. For touching the testimony of the law and the prophets, they witness both together, that they which believe are justified by the righteousness of God. Now what that righteousness is, he doth immediately declare, saying: "The righteousness of God cometh by the faith of Jesus Christ unto all and upon all them that believe." The righteousness, saith he, whereof we speak[2], is not human or of mortal man, but altogether divine, or of God himself. For as God alone is only just, so the righteousness of God is the true and only righteousness of God[3] that saveth us: which righteousness God maketh us to be partakers of by that faith of Jesus Christ, to wit, if we believe in Christ, and hope in him for to be saved[4]. Neither is there here any man excluded from righteousness and salvation; for Paul doth plainly say, "Unto all and upon all that do believe." Wherefore God doth repute and esteem all them to be righteous, which do believe in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord and Saviour. Now he doth presently annex the cause why he attributeth salvation unto the righteousness of God, and not of man, or why the gospel commendeth to us the righteousness of God, saying: "For there is no difference; all have sinned and have need of the glory of God." For because all men of their own nature are destitute of the glory of God, that is, since they are without the true image of God, to the likeness whereof they were created in the beginning; therefore all men, verily, are unrighteous and sinners: whereupon it followeth, that in them there is no righteousness, and that they have nothing wherein to boast before the righteous God. For what else, I beseech you, do sinners carry from the judgment-seat of God, but confusion and ignominy? And for because all men are such and in that case, therefore the apostle doth very wisely add: "But they are justified freely by his grace through the redemption in Christ Jesus; whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation, or reconciliation, through faith in his blood."

[1 consistit et valet, Lat.]
[2 quæ justificat et salvat, Lat. omitted; which justifies and saves.]
[3 of God, not in the original.]
[4 and hope—saved, not in Lat.]

Which is all one as if he had said: Men are justified for Christ his sake by the mere grace or mercy of God, without any help or merit of their own, if so be they do but believe that God hath given his Son to the world, to shed his blood, and to reconcile the purified sinners unto his Father in heaven. In which words there are most fully and plainly declared the whole manner and order of sanctifying, purifying, and justifying of sinners.

The manner and order of our sanctification, purification, and justification.

But it is good here to repeat the apostle's words, and more nearly to examine and deeply to consider them. "They are," saith he, "freely justified." But wherefore freely? Because, forsooth, they are justified by the mere grace of God, without the help of their own works or merits. For all men are sinners, and therefore they have nothing of themselves to allege for their justification: whereupon it followeth, that, since some are justified, they are justified freely by the grace of God. For the same apostle in the eleventh to the Romans saith: "If we be saved by grace, then now not of works; for then grace is no more grace: but if by works, then is it now no grace."

But there followeth in Paul immediately that which doth yet make that argument more manifest, which is notwithstanding very manifest already; "through the redemption," saith he, "that is in Christ." Our righteousness and salvation is the work of mere grace, because we are redeemed. For in respect of ourselves, our works, and merits, we were the servants of death and the devil, insomuch as we were sinners and subject to sin. But God, by sending his Son, redeemed us, when as yet, being his enemies, we were bound to the devil, his open adversary[5]. Therefore he did freely redeem us; as Esay the prophet did in his fifty-second chapter plainly foretell that it should come to pass. But true salvation is not in any other, whatsoever he be, save in Christ alone, our true Lord and Saviour. For the heavenly Father did by his eternal counsel set forth his Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, to be our propitiation, to wit, that he might be our reconciliation, for whose sake only the Father being pacified adopteth us into the number of the sons of God: which is accomplished by none other way but through faith in his blood; that is, if we believe that the Son, being sent of the Father, did shed his blood, thereby to set us, cleansed,

[5 to the devil, his open adversary; an addition of the translator's.]

justified, and sanctified, before his heavenly Father. Wherein we see again that our salvation doth freely consist in faith in Jesus Christ.

Who they be that Christ hath redeemed.

These points being thus unfolded, the apostle, proceeding to shew how far the benefit of redemption and justification doth stretch, doth immediately add: "To declare his righteousness by[1] the forgiveness of the sins that are past, which God did suffer, to shew at this time his righteousness." God, saith he, hath set forth Christ to be the only propitiation, that he might shew that there is but one and the same righteousness of all ages; Christ, I say, himself, who is the righteousness of all that believe. Now here he maketh mention of two several times; that ancient age of the fathers, and this present time wherein we now live. The ancient age is that which went before the coming of Christ: this latter age of ours is that which beginneth at Christ, is now at this present, and shall be extended to the end of the world. And God verily did of his long sufferance bear with and suffer the sins of that old age for Christ his sake, by whom, and for whom, he hath forgiven them: neither doth he set before us at this day any other righteousness, save Christ alone, to be received and embraced by faith.

For the apostle doth not obscurely afterward add: "That he might be just, and the justifier of them that believe on Jesus." As if he should have said: Now the meaning of all this is, that we should understand that all men are unrighteous and altogether sinners; but that God alone is righteous, without whom there is no righteousness at all: and that he doth communicate his righteousness to all them that do believe in Christ, to wit, which do believe that for Christ his sake the Father is pleased and reconciled unto us, and that for him we are reputed both just and holy.

Errors refuted.

By these words of the apostle there are two very wicked and blasphemous errors of certain fellows notably refuted. The one of the twain is the error of them which say, that our fathers were justified, not by faith in Christ, but by the law and their own merits; affirming that Christ suffered not for the fathers, but for them alone that lived when he was upon the earth, and for them that followed after his death. The other error is theirs which say, that Christ offered up his

[1] propter, Lat.; for.]

body for the fathers, for original sin only, not for us and all our sins; and therefore that we must make satisfaction for our own sins. But the apostle Paul doth in this place condemn both these opinions. And the holy evangelist John, agreeing with Paul, doth say: "The blood of the Son of God doth cleanse us from all sin. For he is the propitiation for our sins; not for our sins only, but for the sins of all the world." Therefore the merit of Christ his redemption doth extend itself to all the faithful of both the testaments. [1 John i. 7; ii. 2.]

The apostle Paul proceedeth, and upon that which he had said he inferreth: "Where is the boasting? It is excluded. By what law? Of works? Nay, but by the law of faith." He gathereth by the evangelical doctrine[2] hitherto taught, that all the boasting of every man's own righteousness, and all the bragging of every one's merits, is utterly taken away, altogether exempted, and vanished: not by the law of works; that is, not by the doctrine concerning works, which is wont for the most part to puff men up and make them swell; but by the law of faith; that is, by the doctrine concerning faith, which doth empty and leave in us nothing but an humble confession and acknowledging of our own lack of merits, attributing all our help to grace in Christ Jesus. And at the last, gathering the chief proposition, he saith: "We do therefore hold that a man is justified[3] without the works of the law."

This is the sum and breviary of the whole gospel, that we are justified, that is to say, absolved from sins, from the definitive sentence of death and damnation, and sanctified and adopted into the number of the sons of God, by faith, that is, by an assured confidence in the name of Christ, which is given by the Father to be our only Saviour. And here are works by name excluded, to the end there should be given to us no occasion to entangle faith with works, or to attribute to works the glory and title due to faith alone, or rather to Christ, upon whom our faith is grounded and upheld.

This proposition being once put forth he doth presently after confirm with arguments, shewing withal that this salvation is common both to the Jews and Gentiles, saying: "Is he

[2 de fide justificante, Lat. omitted; concerning the faith that justifieth.]

[3 fide, Lat.; by faith.]

the God of the Jews only? Is he not also of the Gentiles? Yes, even also of the Gentiles: for it is one God that shall justify the circumcision by faith, and the uncircumcision through faith." He fetcheth the confirmation of that which he said from the nature of God. There is but one God, who is of his own nature both life and righteousness; and he is the God both of the Jews and the Gentiles: therefore he is the life and righteousness of both the people: which righteousness he bestoweth on them by faith: therefore faith doth justify, or make them both righteous.

This is declared by the example of Cornelius the centurion. For he is justified, or, as I should rather say, being once justified he is declared to be acceptable to God, by the sending down of the Holy Ghost in a visible form upon him, when as he neither was circumcised, nor yet had kept the law, but had only heard the preaching of the gospel, and had believed in Jesus Christ. Now God did not justify Cornelius so alone, but will also justify all other nations by faith; even as he will not by any other means than by faith alone justify the Jews.

It followeth in Paul: "Do we then destroy the law through faith? God forbid: but we rather maintain the law." For the defenders or the disputers in the defence of works, or rather of justification by works, are wont to object: If faith alone in Christ doth justify, then is the law, or doctrine of the law, altogether unprofitable. For to what end are we commanded to do good works, if good works do not justify? The apostle answereth, That the law is not abolished by faith, but rather maintained: for since faith doth directly tend to Christ, in whom alone it doth seek and find all fulness; and that the law itself is the school-mistress unto Christ, and doth shut up all under sin, so that justification is by faith given to the faithful; it is most evident, that the law is not destroyed or darkened, but confirmed and made light, by the doctrine of faith.

How Abraham the father of the faithful is justified.

The apostle goeth on in his confirmation, and saith: "What shall we say then that Abraham our father as pertaining to the flesh did find? For if Abraham were justified by works, then hath he wherein to boast; but not before God. For what saith the scripture? Abraham believed God, and it was counted unto him for righteousness." There

are verily many examples of the holy fathers: but among all the rest, the apostle chose out this of Abraham[1] to handle it at large. For he in the scriptures is called the father of them that do believe. Whereupon it is assuredly certain, that the children shall be justified after the same sort that their father was; as the apostle hath in express words taught in the latter end of the fourth chapter. Moreover, Abraham was famous for[2] good works above all the rest of the holy fathers: therefore if any other could have been justified by his good works or merits, much more might Abraham before all the rest. But for because he was justified by faith and not by works, it is manifest therefore that all the saints also both have been, and are, justified by faith and not by works. Furthermore, Abraham lived 430 years before the law was revealed by Moyses[3]: whereupon it followeth, that his works cannot be called the works of the law by them that are the deniers of the justification by faith without the law. Therefore the works that he did, he did them of faith, and his works were the works of faith; and yet was he not justified by them, but by faith. Therefore the glory of the justification of faith remaineth sound, unspotted, and unmingled with anything else. "What," saith he, "shall we say that our father Abraham found concerning the flesh;" to wit, so far forth as he is a man, and we also men of him? What, I say, shall we say that he deserved[4]? To this demand this answer must be added: He found nothing, and by his works he deserved nothing. For the proof followeth: If by his works he deserved anything, or was by his merits justified, then hath he wherein to boast. But he hath nothing wherein to boast: therefore is he not justified by his works. For God alone is righteous, and keepeth this his glory unto himself alone without any partner or joint-possessor with him, freely justifying them that are of the faith of Jesus Christ, to the end that his grace may be always praised.

But Paul himself, by bringing in a place of scripture, doth shew that Abraham had nothing wherein to make his boast. "For what," saith he, "doth the scripture say? Abraham believed God, and it was counted unto him for

[1 solius, Lat.; alone.] [2 multis, Lat.; for many.]
[3 Gal. iii. 17. See Vol. II. page 180.]
[4 See Vol. I. p. 116, and note 3.]

righteousness." Lo here, the scripture doth most plainly say, that Abraham was justified by faith; or rather, that faith was imputed to him for righteousness; and therefore that Abraham was for his faith counted righteous before the most just and righteous God.

But let us hear Paul, how he applieth this place of scripture unto his purpose. It followeth then: "To him that worketh is the reward not reckoned of grace, but of duty. But to him that worketh not, but believeth in him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness." Which words, verily, may be briefly reduced into this kind of argument. Whosoever doth with his works deserve anything, to him the reward is given as a thing of duty due unto him, and not imputed freely as though it were no debt. But faith is imputed to Abraham unto righteousness; therefore he received righteousness, not as a reward of duty ought[1] unto him, but as a gift not due but freely given him. And again: "To him that worketh not, but believeth in him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is reckoned for righteousness." But to Abraham faith was imputed unto righteousness: therefore he obtained righteousness by faith, and not by works.

Now there is an emphasis in that he saith, "But believeth in him that justifieth the ungodly." For thereby is signified, that he which is to be justified doth bring nothing with him but the only acknowledging of his own misery and ungodliness, to seek for mercy at the hand of the Lord. For he understandeth, that he is destitute of good[2] works, and such as may abide the trial of God's just judgment. He doth therefore fly to the mercy of God, presuming for a certainty that the righteousness of faith is the aid or help of the sinner, that must be freely saved by the grace of God.

The righteousness of Christians is imputative.

Here, by the way, ye must note, that Christians' righteousness both is, and is said to be, imputative righteousness: which thing alone is able to break the neck of all our boasting; for imputation is the contrary unto debt. God is not of duty bound to us, either for our own sakes, or for our works' sakes; but so far forth as he hath bound himself to us of his free grace and goodness: and in us there are many things that hinder the perfection of righteousness in

[1 i. e. owed.] [2 perfectis, Lat.]

us. Whereupon David cried: "Enter not into judgment with thy servant: for in thy sight shall no man living be justified." Therefore God doth freely impute to us the righteousness of faith; that is, he reputeth us for righteous because we believe him through his Son. So we read that in the evangelical parable the Lord did say: "But when the debtors were not able to pay, he forgave them both the debt." For God also forgiveth us our debts or sins, not reputing them unto us, but counting us for righteous for Christ his sake. For the same apostle, most evidently testifying the same thing, in the second Epistle to the Corinthians, saith: "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, by not imputing sins to men." And after that again: "Him, which knew no sin, he made sin for us, that we might be the righteousness of God in him." What canst thou require more evident, than that we are counted righteous before God, because by Christ his sacrifice our sins are so purged, that we should hereafter be no longer held with the guilt of the same?

[Psal. cxliii. 2.]

[Luke vii. 42.]

[2 Cor. v. 19, 21.]

We proceed now to reckon up the other arguments of St Paul, as firm and manifest as these that are already rehearsed.

What David thought of justification.

In the same chapter therefore it followeth: "Even as David describeth the blessedness of the man, to whom the Lord imputeth righteousness without works, saying, Blessed are they whose unrighteousnesses are forgiven, and whose sins are covered. Blessed is that man, to whom the Lord will not impute sin." In the beginning he doth with clear and evident words express the thing that he intendeth to prove or confirm; to wit, that God imputeth righteousness to the saints without works. What could be said more plainly? And, to prove it to be so, here he inferreth the testimony of David, which doth in a manner contain three sundry members or clauses: first, "Blessed," saith he, "are they whose unrighteousnesses are forgiven;" then, "Blessed are they whose sins are covered;" and lastly, "Blessed is that man to whom the Lord will impute no sin."

Now the force of the argument or demonstration doth consist in the words, Forgive, Cover, and Not impute. The creditor forgiveth the debtor that which he hath not paid

him, whether he be able or not able to pay it him. We in respect of our sins, which are our debts, are able to pay nothing to God. Forgiveness therefore of those debts or sins of ours is the gift of God's mere grace and liberality. For the creditor cannot forgive the thing that is already paid unto him; for when he giveth back the thing that he hath received, in so doing he doth not forgive, but give; and that deed in the scriptures is called *Donum*, a gift, not *Remissio*, a forgiving. Whereupon St Paul saith, "God gave to Abraham the inheritance:" therefore Abraham with his works did not merit the same. Secondarily, some filthy thing that offendeth the eyes of men is usually wont to be covered; and yet notwithstanding the filthy thing abideth filthy still[1], although it doth not appear outwardly unto the eyes of men. And our merciful God hath covered our sins, not that they should not be, but that they should not appear or come to judgment; which thing is the gift of grace, and not of merits. For the covering is nothing else than the blood of the Son of God; for for his blood's sake we sinners are not damned. Lastly, God might by right and justice impute sin unto us; but of his grace he imputeth it not. And all these laid together do confirm and prove, that righteousness is freely, by faith, without works, imputed unto us.

This very same place of St Paul taken out of David doth discuss and make plain unto us other points of doctrine also, whereof there is some controversy. For we learn that justification is nothing else but sanctification[2], forgiveness of sins, and adoption into the number of the children of God. We learn that St Paul speaketh not only of the ceremonial works of the law, but also of the saints' good works of every sort. Furthermore we learn, that both sins and iniquities, that is, all manner sins of the faithful, are freely pardoned and utterly forgiven. Moreover we learn that sins are fully remitted, not the fault only, but the punishment also: which punishment, some say, is retained; but God doth not impute sins. In another place he saith, "that he will not have any remembrance of our sin at all." Lastly, we learn that the satisfactions for sin of man's invention is a most vain lie, and flatly opposite to the apostle's doctrine.

[Jer. xxxi. 34; Heb. x. 17.]

[1 latet adhuc sub tectorio, Lat.; lurketh still under the covering.]
[2 beatificatio, Lat. See Vol. I. page 106, note 6.]

I have hitherto alleged two most evident places; the one out of the gospel of Christ, the other out of St Paul his epistle written to the Romans: by which I meant to prove, that Christ, being preached to us by the gospel, is received not by works but by faith; and I hope I have by divine testimonies so declared this matter of importance, that no man shall need hereafter either to doubt or waver in the same. To all this now I add this note, still most necessary to be observed; that all good and holy men in the church of Christ must with all their power do their endeavour that this doctrine of the gospel may abide sincere and utterly uncorrupted. For they must in no case admit that justification is partly attributed to faith and the mercy of God, and partly to the works of faith and our own merits: for if that be admitted, then doth the gospel lose all force and virtue. I think therefore, that all men must only and incessantly urge this, That the faithful are justified, saved, or sanctified[3] by faith, without works, by the grace and mercy, I say, of God through Christ alone. And I suppose, verily, that this doctrine of the gospel must be kept sincere and uncorrupt in the church for very many causes, but among all other for these especially which follow hereafter.

Why the doctrine of faith that justifieth without works is to be kept uncorrupted in the church of Christ.

First of all, it is manifest, that the often-repeated doctrine of the grace of God, which in his only Son doth through faith alone work justification, is by so many divine testimonies, even from the beginning of the world, by so many demonstrations, and so many determinations of unreproveable councils, both so plainly declared and throughly inculcated, that the very consent of all ages in the truth revealed from heaven, and the authority of the most holy men in all the world, do sufficiently invite us to retain, maintain, and keep that doctrine uncorrupted. We have the justification of our blessed father Abraham a little[4] above expounded by no obscure author, but even by Paul, the teacher of the Gentiles and elected vessel of God himself. We have the doctrine of justification taught by the most glorious king and prophet[5] David, a man even after God's heart's desire, the great grandsire of Christ our Lord, declared and expounded by the same apostle Paul. Now Abraham and David were always

[3 beati, Lat.; blessed.]
[4 paucis, Lat.; in few words.] [5 and prophet, not in Lat.]

men of chief account in the church of God. With which twain the whole company of the prophets do wholly agree; for
[Acts x. 43.] the apostle Peter saith: "All the prophets bare witness to Christ, that by his name every one which doth believe in him should receive remission of his sins." And even now by the mouth of Paul we heard say, that by the testimonies of the law and the prophets it is proved, That the righteousness of God is freely bestowed by faith, without the law.

We have also the very Son of God, Jesus Christ, our Lord, whose authority, excelling far all the world's beside[1], may confirm us well enough in this piece of doctrine[2]. For he, as it were in certain assembled councils, did determine and decree that which we in this place do counsel all men to retain. For having gathered together his disciples at Cæsarea Philippi, he demanded of them, what men did think of him. Now when they answered diversely, according to the diversity of opinions that the common people had of him, he inquired of them what they themselves thought of him[3]. Then Peter in the name of all the rest said, "Thou art that Christ, the Son of the living
[Matt. xvi. 16, 17.] God." To whom the Lord replied: "Happy art thou, Simon Bar-jona; for flesh and blood hath not revealed this to thee, but my Father which is in heaven." In these words he concludeth two several things: first, that true faith doth make us happy; neither is it to be doubted but that "to make happy" is used here in that signification, which ye heard out of Paul even now that David used it in: lastly, that that sanctifying[4] faith is not the work of our own nature, but the heavenly gift of God. And then also he taketh occasion, upon that notable confession of true faith, to give a new name to Simon Peter, for the eternal memory of the thing[5], and for the imprinting of the signification of that mystery in all men's minds. Peter confessed that Christ was a stone, or rock; therefore Christ surnameth Peter a *Petra*, that is, a stone: as if one should call him a living stone laid upon a living stone, or of Christ a Christian. Yea, and lest peradventure any man should tie the thing, universally belonging to the whole

[1 omnes in mundo præstantissimos, Lat.]
[2 may—doctrine, not in Lat.]
[3 certam confessionem, Lat.] [4 beatificantem, Lat.]
[5 ad æternam rei memoriam,—alluding to the opening phrase of the decrees and bulls of the popes, &c.]

church, unto Peter alone, the Lord himself doth apply it unto all the church, and saith: "And upon this stone will I build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." As if he should have said: That which now is done in thee, Peter, shall hereafter be done in all the faithful. Thou by faith art laid upon me which am the stone, and art made a member of the church: I therefore do ordain, that whosoever confesseth me to be the stone shall be a member of the church, sanctified[6], justified, and delivered from the devil and the power of death. Thy confession (that is, I, Christ the Son of God, whom thou confessest,) shall be the foundation of the church; upon which foundation whosoever are laid[7], they shall be justified[8] and freely saved. For Paul also said: "Another foundation cannot be laid than that that is already laid, which is Christ Jesus." [2 Cor. iii. 11.] And the apostle John saith: "This is the victory that hath overcome the world, even your faith." [1 John v. 4.] Now lest Peter and his other fellow-disciples should not know the way how other men should be admitted into the fellowship of the church and received into the communion of Christ, he addeth immediately: "And I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou loosest in earth, shall be loosed in heaven," &c. He gave the keys when he sent the apostles to preach the gospel. Therefore by the preaching of the gospel (which is the key of the kingdom of heaven) is heaven opened, and the way pointed out how we, being graffed in Christ and the church, may be made the heirs of eternal life; to wit, through faith in Christ, which we are taught by the gospel of Christ. Thus much touching the council whereof Christ himself was president, held at Cæsarea Philippi[9].

There is extant in John another council, held at Capernaum[10], both famous and full of people. For in a great multitude of his disciples and other men he doth determine, that eternal life is gotten by faith in Christ; and that there is none other way for us to come to life than this, "to eat his flesh, and to drink his blood;" that is, to believe in him. And when among the audience there was a schism by reason that many revolted from Christ, he demanded of them that were

[6 beatus, Lat.] [7 fide, Lat.; by faith.] [8 beati, Lat.]
[9 Hæc de Cæsarien. concilio hactenus,—is all that Bullinger says.]
[10 Capernaiticum, Lat. John vi.]

his nearest disciples, whether they also would forsake him? Then Peter in the name of all the rest did answer: Since in thee, O Christ, there is life and salvation, if we depart from thee we cannot be partakers of life; and therefore by faith we will firmly stick and cleave close to thee for ever.

Moreover here are to be reckoned two councils also that were held by the apostles; the one of which no man can deny to be very general or universal[1]; for in it there were devout men of every nation under heaven. In that council did Peter the apostle in express words teach, That Christ is the Saviour of the world; whom whosoever believeth, he shall have life everlasting. The place is known in the Acts of the Apostles, the second chapter. Before the chief of the Jews the same apostle declareth, that there is salvation in none other than in Christ alone. The place is [Acts iv.] extant in the Acts of the Apostles, the third chapter. The like he doth to the first-fruits of the Gentiles, Cornelius and his household, in the tenth chapter. The second council, which was famous also and passingly adorned with all good gifts, is described in the fifteenth chapter of the Acts: in which council this proposition was allowed, That faith See the order of the Acts[2] of the Apostles, and the eighth sermon of the third decade. without works doth justify freely. Touching which matter I have spoken at large in another place.

Now by all this I would have it proved, that the doctrine of Faith that justifieth without works ought to be retained unmingled and uncorrupt in the church, because, as I may so say, it is most catholic and altogether unreproveable: to the breach whereof this curse or *anathematism* [Gal. i. 8.] of the apostle is added, saying: "If we, or an angel from heaven, shall preach to you any other gospel than that which we have preached, let him be accursed."

The second cause, why it is expedient that this doctrine be kept sincere in the church, is; because if it be once put out of joint, the glory of Christ shall be in danger of wrack and in jeopardy. For the glory of Christ is darkened and corrupted in the minds of men (although of itself it remaineth always sound and clear), if we begin to divide the righteousness whereby we stand and appear before God, attributing it to our own merits and good works of our own. For this is the glory of the Son of God, that "under heaven

[1 vere œcumenicum, Lat.] [2 seriem in Act. Lat.]

there is none other name given unto men in which they must be saved." Hereupon it is that Paul said: "Christ is made of none effect to you, whosoever are justified by the law; ye are fallen from grace." And again: "I do not despise the grace of God; for if righteousness be of the law, then did Christ die in vain." If he died in vain, then is the glory of Christ his cross perished. [Gal. v. 4; ii. 21.]

The third cause is, the certain and assured reason of our salvation. Our salvation should be utterly uncertain, if it did depend upon our works and merits; who, because of our natural corruption, unless we be beside ourselves, do say or ought to say with Job: "If I have any righteousness, I will not answer, but humbly beseech my judge." Therefore did Paul very rightly say: "If the inheritance be of the law, then is faith void, and the promise made of none effect. Therefore is it of faith, as according to grace[3]; that the promise may be firm to all the seed." [Job ix. 15.] [Rom. iv. 14, 16.]

The fourth cause is; because by this doctrine especially there is repaired in us the image of God, to the likeness whereof we were at the first created. For by faith Christ dwelleth and liveth in us, who is also delighted in our humility. But then is the image of the devil stirred up in us, when we begin once to be proud in ourselves, and to usurp the glory of God; which is done undoubtedly so often as we do attribute our righteousness and salvation unto ourselves, as though by our own works or merits we had deserved the kingdom of God. The devil swelleth with pride, and doth his endeavour to rob[4] God of his glory. The saints do know and acknowledge that they are saved by the true grace and mercy of God; and do therefore attribute to him all honour and glory, and to themselves confusion and ignominy. Whereunto undoubtedly belongeth the parable in the gospel of the Pharisee boasting in his good works, and of the publican praying and saying, "God be merciful to me a sinner:" of which twain the publican is read to have gone heavy[5] to his house rather justified than the other. [Luke xviii. 9—14.]

[3 ut secundum gratiam, Lat.]

[4 ad se rapere, Lat.; to take to himself.]

[5 descendisse, Lat.; to have gone down. *Heavy* is doubtless in all the editions a misprint for *home*, which Tyndale's and Cranmer's versions have.]

The fifth cause is, the value or estimation of the sin. For that seemeth to be no great fault, which may by men's works be blotted out before God. But the holy scripture teacheth, that sins could be by none other means cleansed, but by the death and innocent blood of the[1] Son of God. Now by that every man that hath any understanding may easily gather, that sin in the sight of God is a most abominable and detestable thing: whereupon there doth arise in the faithful saints a careful and diligent watching against sin, and a continual bewailing of our miserable condition, with a passing humility and exquisite modesty.

I could yet add to these some causes more, why all men ought to strive and endeavour to keep this doctrine (that the catholic church is justified by the grace of God in his only-begotten Son, through faith, and not through works) sincere and uncorrupt in the church of Christ: but these I hope are sufficient for them that are not of purpose set to quarrel against us. And yet, notwithstanding, there is no peril why by this doctrine good works should be neglected: of which I have spoken in place convenient[2]. But if there be any that cease not of purpose to cavil against the manifest truth of the gospel, I object against them that saying of Paul: that neither we, nor the churches of God, do stand to wrangle in so manifest a light.

[1 Cor. xi. 16.]

The conclusion and sum of all.

To conclude; the sum of all that which hitherto I have said touching the gospel is this: That all men that be in the world are of their own nature the servants of sin, the devil, and eternal death, and cannot be loosed or set at liberty by any other means but by the free grace of God, and the redemption which is in the only-begotten Son of God our Lord Christ Jesus; of which redemption they only are made partakers that do believe and trust in him. For whosoever do by true faith receive Christ Jesus through the preaching of the gospel, they are therewithal justified; that is, acquitted from their sins, sanctified, and made heirs of eternal life: but they that by their unbelief and hardness of heart do not receive Christ, are given over to the eternal pains and bonds of hell; for "the wrath of God abideth upon them."

John iii. 36.]

Let us therefore give hearty thanks to God our Re-

[1 ipsius, Lat.; of the very.] [2 Vol. I. p. 118.]

deemer, and humbly beseech him to keep and increase us in the true faith, and lastly to bring us to life everlasting. Amen.

OF REPENTANCE, AND THE CAUSES THEREOF; OF CONFESSION, AND REMISSION OF SINS; OF SATISFACTION AND INDULGENCES; OF THE OLD AND NEW MAN; OF THE POWER OR STRENGTH OF MEN, AND THE OTHER THINGS PERTAINING TO REPENTANCE.

THE SECOND SERMON.

I PROMISED in my last sermon, that I made of the gospel of Jesus Christ, to add a discourse of repentance; which by the help of God and your good prayers I purpose in this sermon for to perform.

To repent.

They among the Latins are said to repent, which are aggrieved at or ashamed of the thing that they have done. Thou hast done a good turn, and thinkest him unworthy of it for whom thou hast done it, and for that cause art sorry to thyself: that sorrow of thine is repentance. We Germans call it *Den reuen.* The Greeks do name it *Metanœam.* Now they which are skilful of that tongue say, that μετανοεῖν signifieth to bethink afterward: so that *Metanœa* is there properly used, where a man, having once slipped by doing something foolishly, doth notwithstanding at length come to himself again, and verily purpose to correct his own error[3]. It is therefore referred, not to the thought of the mind only, but also to the deed done. For he that perceiveth that he hath offended, doth devise with himself how to amend it. So now the thing beginneth to displease thee, which before did please thee: so now thou eschewest the thing that before thou ensuedst[4]. Moreover the Hebrews call repentance *Theschubah*[5], that is, a conversion, or returning to the right way or mind again. The metaphor seemeth to

[3 Bullinger here refers to Erasmus' annotation on Matth. iii. 2: μετάνοια dicta est a μετανοεῖν, hoc est, a posterius intelligendo, ubi quis lapsus, re peracta, tum demum animadvertit erratum suum.]

[4 cupidissime, Lat. omitted; most eagerly.]

[5 תְּשׁוּבָה.]

be taken of them which once did stray from the right path, but do again at length return into the way: which word is translated to the mind, to the manners, and deeds of men.

The diverse use of this word repentance.

But now this word is diversely used; for repentance signifieth the changing of the purpose once conceived, or of any other thing. For by Jeremy the Lord saith: "If they turn from evil, I will also repent me of the evil which I meant to lay upon them." Therefore God doth then repent, when he changeth his purpose: he repenteth not, when he doth not alter it. Paul saith: "The gifts and calling of God are without repentance." And David said: "The Lord hath sworn, and will not repent." Elsewhere repentance is figuratively attributed to God, like to the affection of mortal men: as when he saith, "I repent[1] me that I have made man." For God of his own nature doth not repent as men do, so that he should be touched with grief, and that the thing should now mislike him which he before did like of; but he doth barely alter that which he hath done. Among ecclesiastical writers they are said to repent, which after a prescribed manner of punishment do penance for their sins which they have committed. The scripture in another place doth use it for the whole effect and matter of the gospel: for in the Acts we read, that God gave to the Gentiles repentance unto life. But we, in this disputation of ours, will use repentance for a converting or turning to the Lord, for the acknowledging of sins, for the grief conceived for sins committed, for mortification, and the beginning to lead a new life; and finally[2] for the change, correction, and amendment of the life from evil to better: that which we Germans call *Bekeerung*, *Enderung oder Besserung*[3].

[Jer. xviii. 8.]

[Rom. xi. 29.]

[Psal. cx. 4.]

Repentance in God, how and what it is.

[Gen. vi. 7.]

[Acts xi. 18.]

What repentance is.

And as diversely too is repentance defined of the ecclesiastical writers: howbeit all agree that it is a conversion or turning to the Lord, and an alteration of the former life and opinion. We therefore do say, that repentance is an unfeigned turning to God, whereby we, being of a sincere fear of God once humbled, do acknowledge our sins, and so, by mortifying our old man, are afresh renewed by the

[1 It repenteth, ed. 1577.]

[2 breviter, Lat.; shortly.]

[3 bekehrung, conversion; aenderung, changing; besserung, correction.]

Spirit of God[4]. This definition doth consist upon her parts, which, being somewhat more largely opened and diligently expounded, will declare unto us and lay before our eyes the whole nature of repentance.

Conversion to God.

First we say, that repentance is an unfeigned turning unto God. For I will hereafter shew you, that there are two sorts of repentance; to wit, feigned and unfeigned. And the apostle Peter saith: "Repent, and turn, that your sins may be blotted out;" expounding, as it were, the first by the last, to wit, repentance by returning; (he meaneth) to him from whom they had turned themselves away. For there is a certain relation betwixt turning to and turning fro. If thou hadst never turned away, then hadst thou had no need to have turned to again. But we have all turned away from the true, just, and good God, and from his holy will, unto the devil and our own corrupt affections. And therefore must we again turn us from the devil, and from our old naughty life and will, unto the living God and his most holy will and pleasure. We do here significantly say, to God, and not to creatures or any help of man. For the Lord in Jeremy doth say: "If, Israel, thou wilt return, return to me." Whosoever therefore do not turn to God, nor make themselves conformable to his holy will, howsoever they do turn to creatures and other means of man's invention, yet are they not[5] to be esteemed or counted penitents.

[Acts iii. 19.]

[Jer. iv. 1.]

The doctrine of verity is needful to repentance.

Now there is none so blind but seeth, that for the stirring of us up to repentance the preaching or doctrine of the truth is needful and requisite, to teach us what God is to whom we must be turned; what the goodness and holiness is, to which we must be turned: who the devil is, and what the evil and wickedness[6] is, from which we must be turned; and lastly, what the thing is that must be amended in our mind and life, and also how it must be altered and amended. Truly the prophets and apostles of the Lord, in exhorting men unto repentance, do travail much and stick very long in describing of God's nature, goodness, righteousness, truth and mercy; in painting out the laws and offices of the life of man; and in accusing and heaping up[7] the sins of men;

[4 spiritualiter.]
[5 revera, Lat. omitted; in truth.]
[6 falsum, Lat.]
[7 exaggerandis, Lat.]

whereunto they add the grievous and horrible tokens[1] of God's just judgments: as is in every place of the prophets' writings to be found very rifely. And therefore some there are which bid us even now to preach the law to those men whom we would draw unto repentance: which thing as I do not gainsay, but very well like it, so do I withal admonish them, that the preaching of the gospel also doth object to men their sins, and grievously accuse them. For the Lord [John xvi. 8, 9.] in the gospel saith: "When the Holy Ghost cometh, it shall argue the world of sin, because they believed not in me." Whereupon St Peter, in the Acts of the Apostles, upbraiding to the Jews their sins committed, and preaching unto them Christ and faith in Christ, exhorteth them unto repentance. The places are very well known. Acts ii. and iii. St Paul, going about to draw the Athenians unto repentance, doth [Acts xvii. 30, 31.] say: "God, who hath hitherto winked at the times of this ignorance, doth now preach to all men everywhere that they should repent; because he hath appointed a day, in which he will judge the world with righteousness through Christ." Let them therefore, to whom charge is given to draw men[2] unto repentance, learn here to use much liberty and wisdom, that all men may acknowledge their sin and the greatness of their iniquity. Moreover God doth stir up men to repentance, not by his word only, but also by divers afflictions and sundry sorts of punishments: yea, all the calamities that happen in the world are certain sermons, as it were, persuading and drawing us unto repentance. For, that I may in silence overpass that which is written in the prophets; did not our Lord himself in the gospel, when he heard tidings of the slaughter which Pontius Pilate had made upon the Galileans, and the death of the eighteen men upon [Luke xiii. 1—5.] whom the tower in Siloe fell, presently say, "Think ye that they were greater sinners than the rest? No, verily; but unless ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish." It is assuredly certain therefore, that war, famine, and plagues[3] do always invite us unto repentance; that is, they premonish us, by laying sin aside, to be converted unto God, and wholly to give ourselves to sincere integrity.

[1 minas graves et horrendas hypotyposes, Lat.]
[2 doctrina, Lat. omitted; by doctrine.]
[3 pestes omnes, Lat.; all plagues.]

But in vain is repentance preached unto us, unless by fear and trembling conceived in our minds we do reverently dread the wrath and judgment of Almighty God conceived against us because of our sins and wickednesses. Now this fear is outwardly stirred in us by the external preaching or discipline of the minister[4], as I told you before; but that external doctrine availeth nothing alone, unless inwardly, that is, in our hearts, we be moved by the Holy Spirit of our heavenly Father. And therefore Jeremy in his Lamentations crieth: "Turn us, O Lord, and we shall be turned." And in the thirty-first chapter: "Turn thou me, O Lord, and I shall be turned; because thou art the Lord my God. And after I was turned, it repented me of evil." We read that St Peter, being provoked by the words of the damsel that kept the door, and of the soldiers, did foully deny his master Christ; but, being revoked at the cock's crowing, he repented his fault or folly from the bottom of his heart. And yet it was not the crowing of the cock of itself alone, that stirred that motion in him; but that and the word of Christ together, who had said unto him: "Verily I say unto thee, the cock shall not crow till thou hast denied me thrice." Whereupon St Matthew saith; "And Peter remembered the words of the Lord, which had said unto him, Before the cock crow, thou shalt deny me thrice," &c. With these also is joined a more secret touching of Peter's mind; for the good Lord touched the heart of Peter, as the evangelist testifieth, saying: "And the Lord, turning himself about, looked upon Peter." That looking back of the Lord made Peter's heart to melt, and drew it from the destruction whereinto it was about to fall. Therefore if our ears be pierced with the word of God, and our hearts touched with his Holy Spirit, then shall we, like true penitents, unfeignedly reverence and dread the Lord.

The fear of God in all penitents.

[Lam. v. 21.]

[Jer. xxxi. 18, 19.]

[Matt. xxvi. 34, 75.]

[Luke xxii. 61.]

And therewithal, being humbled before the most just and holy God, whom we with our sins do so much offend and provoke to wrath and indignation, we confess his judgment to be just against us, and freely acknowledge all the sins and iniquities that in the word of God are objected against us, crying out and saying with the prophets: "Thou, verily, O Lord, art righteous, thou art true, and thy judgments just; but we are most unrighteous, liars, wicked, and wholly over-

Our humbling and acknowledging of our sins.

[Jer. xii. 1; Psal. cxix. 75; Isai. lxiv. 6; Dan. ix. 5, 6, 8, 9.]

[4 of the minister, not in Lat.]

whelmed with detestable iniquities. There is nothing sound or sincere within us. All that we have is corrupt and miserable. We have sinned, we have been wicked, we have done unjustly, we have forsaken thee. We have gainsaid thy servants the prophets, we have not obeyed the words of thy mouth. To thee therefore, O God, doth righteousness belong, and to us wretches shame and confusion." This humiliation and free confession of sins doth God require of penitent sinners: touching which I will hereafter speak somewhat more; for now I return more fully to expound the fear of the Lord.

The fear of God is of two sorts.

At this present I speak of the sincere fear of God: for we confess that the fear of God is of two sorts, sincere and unsincere. The sincere fear of God is perceived in the faithful, and is a godly reverence consisting in the love and honour of God. For the prophet bringeth in God saying: "The son honoureth the father, and the servant the master: therefore if I be a father, where is my honour? if a lord, where is my fear?" And Paul saith: "Ye have not received the spirit of bondage again unto fear; but ye have received the spirit of adoption, by which we cry, Abba, Father." Therefore the sincere fear of God in them that do repent is not the servile dread of punishment, but a careful study mixt with the love and honour of God. An honest wife feareth her husband, and a gracious daughter feareth her father[1]; and yet each of them doth therewithal love, the one her father, the other her husband, and doth with an holy love endeavour herself to keep his favour, and fear lest at any time she should do anything to lose it. And therefore penitents do not only fear[2], because they know, being taught by the Spirit of God, that they have committed sins, for which they have deserved to be forsaken of the Lord; but do also love him as their merciful Father, and are therefore sorry with all their hearts for their sins committed; and do above all things most ardently require to be reconciled again to their merciful God and loving Father.

[Mal. i. 6.]

[Rom. viii. 15.]

Sorrow to God-ward.

For with this sincere fear of God is joined the grief or sorrow, which is conceived by the Spirit of God for our sins that we commit. St Paul maketh mention of two sorts of sorrows. "The sorrow that is to God-ward," saith he, "doth bring forth repentance[3] not to be repented of; but, contrarily, the

[2 Cor. vii. 10.]

[1 parentem, Lat.] [2 Deum, Lat. omitted; God.]
[3 ad salutem, Lat. omitted; to salvation.]

sorrow of the world bringeth death." The king and prophet David sorrowed to God-ward, when he cried: "Thine arrows stick fast in me, and thy hand doth press me sore. There is no whole part in my flesh, because of thy displeasure: there is no rest in my bones by reason of my sin:" and so forward, as is to be seen in the thirty-eighth Psalm; which, although it were written of his grievous disease or sickness, doth yet notwithstanding, as it were in a shadow, shew us the great grief that is in the saints for offending their good and gracious Father with their continual[4] sins. To God-ward was the sinful woman sorry in St Luke, who, falling prostrate at the Lord's heels, did wash his feet with tears, and wiped them with her hair. To God-ward was St Peter sorry, and wept (as we read) full bitterly for his offence. The godly are greatly grieved because they do so oftentimes offend so foully so good a God and gracious Father. No words, I think, can possibly express the grief and sorrow that they conceive. But the prophet Jeremy, describing the contrary affection of impenitent sinners, doth say: "Do men fall, so that they may not rise again? Doth any man go so astray, that he may not turn again? How doth it happen then that this people of Hierusalem is turned away so stubbornly? I gave ear and hearkened, they spake not rightly: there was none that did repent him of his wickedness, to say, What have I done? Every one of them turned to his own course, like a fierce horse headlong to the battle."

[Luke vii. 38.]

[Luke xxii. 62.]

[Jer. viii. 4–6.]

The worldly grief is the sorrow of such men as know not God, and are without faith and the true love of God; yea, of such as yield under the burden of sorrow, adversities, and[5] very sins. Like to this also, in a manner, is the consideration of the unsincere fear of God. For the wicked, with their head the devil, do fear God, not as a father, whom they are sorry to offend, and to whom they desire to be reconciled as to a father; but as a tormentor, because they know that he will revenge their evil deeds; and therefore with Judas[6] they run[7] to the rope. There is in them no love of God, no honour, no good-will, no reverence, but mere hatred[8], horror,

[4 continual, not in Lat.]
[5 adeoque et, Lat.; and so of their sins also.]
[6 Iscariotha, Lat. omitted.] [7 tandem, Lat.; at last.]
[8 odium Dei, Lat.]

and utter desperation. But such fear the apostle and evangelist John denied to be in charity, saying that "perfect charity casteth out all fear:" I mean not that fear of the Lord that is the beginning of wisdom; but that of which I have spoken all this while; the fear, I mean, that is in the devil and wicked men his members[1]. [1 John iv. 18.]

Faith is needful in them that repent.

And now by this we gather, that unto penitents faith in God and the merit of Christ is most of all and especially needful. In which sense it is, I think, that many have made faith a part of repentance: which as I do not greatly deny, so yet do I see that St Paul made as it were a difference betwixt faith and repentance, when in the twentieth of the Acts he saith, that "he witnessed both to the Jews and Gentiles the repentance that is toward God, and the faith in Jesus Christ." Therefore repentance and faith seem to be diverse: not that true repentance can be without faith; but because they must be distinguished, and not confounded. We do all know that true faith is not without works, as that which of necessity sheweth forth good works[2]; and yet we make a difference betwixt faith and works, so yet that we do not separate them or rend the one from the other: and in like manner we acknowledge that true faith and true repentance are undividedly knit together, and closely fastened the one to the other. I will not stand in argument, whether faith be a part of repentance, or doth by any other means depend upon it. It seemeth to me a notable point of folly to go about to tie matters of divinity[3] to precepts of logic: for we learn not that of the Lord's apostles. I admonished you before in a sermon of the gospel[4] (which thing I do here repeat again), that the acknowledging of sins doth not of itself obtain grace or forgiveness of sins; even as the bare acknowledging of a disease is not the remedy for the same: for even damned men also do acknowledge their sins, and yet are not therefore healed. The acknowledging of sin is a certain preparative unto faith; as the acknowledging of a disease doth minister occasion to think upon a remedy. To this at this present we add, that not the very fear of God, how sincere soever it be; not the very sorrow conceived for our

[1 the fear—members, not in Lat.]
[2 lege utique communi, is Bullinger's parenthesis.]
[3 ubique, Lat. omitted; in all cases.] [4 See above, p. 35.]

sins, how great soever it be; nor the very humiliation, how submiss soever it be, do of themselves make us[5] acceptable to God: but rather that they prepare an entrance and make a way for us unto the knowledge of Christ, and so consequently do lead us to Christ himself being incarnate and crucified for us and our redemption, and lay us upon Christ alone, by him to be quickened and purely cleansed. For he that is truly converted to God is utterly turned from himself and all hope of worldly aid. Whoso doth truly fear God and is sorry in very deed from the bottom of his heart, he doth fear and is sorry for his sins committed; and not for that alone, but because he findeth himself to be corrupted wholly, and to have in himself no soundness or integrity: yea, because he reverenceth God as his Father, he doth disclose to him his wounds as to a chirurgeon, desiring instantly to be reconciled to him as to his loving Father. And whereas here true godliness doth cry, that no man can be reconciled to God the Father but by the only-begotten Son; the penitent doth by faith lay hold on the Son, and so seek the means of his reconciliation[6]. Faith is grounded upon the only grace or mercy of God exhibited to us in Christ Jesus, and the penitent believeth that he is accepted of God for Christ his sake alone: and therefore he maketh his supplications to God, committing himself wholly unto his mercy; as we read that David, and the prodigal son in the fifteenth chapter of St Luke's gospel, did. To this place might be annexed the doctrine of[7] the gospel, of faith in Jesus Christ, and of the remission of sins; touching which I have already spoken.

Sins are fully and surely forgiven unto penitents.

And here I think it not amiss, that the minds of penitents must by all means be confirmed with many and evident places of scripture plainly uttered concerning the full remission of sins, to the end that hereafter we have no scruple of conscience to cause us to despair or doubt in our temptations: wherein notwithstanding I repeat again and again this note to be throughly marked, for the confirmation of the glory of the only-begotten Son of God, our Lord Christ Jesus, that penitent sinners have their sins remitted, not for their repentance, in respect that it is our work or action; but in respect

[5 pœnitentes, Lat.]
[6 and so—reconciliation; an addition of the translator's.]
[7 de, Lat.; concerning.]

that it comprehendeth the renewing of man by the Holy Ghost, and true faith, which delivereth us to Christ our physician, that he may heal all our diseases and bind up all our griefs[1]. And although this treatise doth properly belong to the common place of faith and the gospel, of which I have so briefly as I could already discoursed; yet notwithstanding I will here recite some evident sentences touching the grace of God and free remission of our sins.

David in the hundreth and third psalm saith: "Praise the Lord, O my soul, and forget not the things that he hath done for thee: which forgiveth all thy sins, and healeth all thine infirmities: which saveth thy life from destruction, and crowneth thee with mercy and loving-kindness. He hath not dealt with us after our sins, nor rewarded us according to our wickedness. For look how high the heaven is in comparison of the earth; so great is his mercy toward them that fear him. And look how far the east is from the west; so far hath he set our sins from us. Yea, like as a father pitieth his own children, so is the Lord merciful to them that fear him. For he knoweth that we are frail (prone to sin), and doth remember that we are but dust."

Esay in the first chapter of his prophecy saith: "Thus saith the Lord, Though your sins be as red as scarlet, they shall be made whiter than snow; and though they be red as purple, they shall be made like undyed[2] wool." Again, in the forty and third chapter, he bringeth in the Lord saying: "I am he that blot out the[3] transgressions, and that for mine own sake, and I will not remember thy sins."

In the thirty-first chapter of Jeremy, which saying is also alleged by Paul in the eighth and tenth chapters to the Hebrews, the Lord saith: "This is my covenant that I will make with them after these days; I will be merciful unto their iniquities, and not remember their sins any more."

In the thirty-sixth chapter of Ezechiel the Lord saith: "I will sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be cleansed from all your uncleanness. A new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you: as for that stony heart, I will take it out of your flesh, and give you a fleshy heart. I will deliver you from all your un-

[1 contritiones, Lat.] [2 nativa lana, Lat.]
[3 tuas, Lat.; thy.]

cleannesses. But I will not do this for your sakes, saith the Lord, be ye sure of it, &c."

Daniel in his ninth chapter leaveth to us a manifest example of confession of sins, and doth in express words say that by the Messiah sins are forgiven, iniquity purged, and everlasting righteousness brought in instead of it[4]. So doth the prophet Zachary in his third chapter affirm, that the iniquity of the earth is purged by the only sacrifice of Christ Jesus.

The Lord, in the gospel after St Matthew, doth say: "They that are whole need not the physician, but they that are sick. Neither did I come to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance." And therefore is he called Jesus, that is, a Saviour: for the angel said, "He shall save his people from their sins." And St Paul to Timothy saith: "It is a sure saying, and worthy by all means to be received, that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners." [Matt. ix. 12, 13.] [Matt. i. 21.] [1 Tim. i. 15.]

In the same gospel the Lord saith: "Every sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven men; but blasphemy against the Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven men. And whosoever shall say a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him: but whosoever speaketh a word against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, nor in the world to come." Concerning sin against the Holy Ghost I have already spoken in another place[5]. Now to this place do belong all the examples of that most liberal kind of forgiveness, which is expressed in the gospel: as for example, of the sinful woman, Luke vii.; also John iv. and Matthew viii.; of Zachee, St Peter, and the thief upon the cross. But who is able briefly to reckon them all? To this also do appertain the three parables in the gospel[6] after the evangelist St Luke. [Matt. xii. 31, 32.]

In the gospel after St John the forerunner of the Lord doth cry out, saying: "Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world." And the Lord himself did say to his disciples: "Whose sins soever ye forgive, they are forgiven." [John i. 29; xx. 23.]

Peter the apostle in the Acts doth cry and say: "All the prophets bear witness to Christ, that whosoever believeth [Acts x. 43.]

[4 instead of it, not in Lat.]

[5 See Vol. II. p. 420.]

[6 ex 15 cap. Lat. omitted.]

in him should by his name receive remission of his sins."
[1 Pet. ii. 24.] The same apostle again in his Epistle saith: "Christ his own self bare our sins in his body upon the cross[1], that we, being dead to sin, might live to righteousness: by whose stripes ye are healed."

The apostle Paul in the fifth chapter of his second Epistle to the Corinthians saith: "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their sins unto them. For him, that knew not sin, he made sin for us; that we through him might be made the righteousness of God." And in the tenth to the Hebrews he hath: "Christ, having offered one sacrifice for sin, is set down at the right hand of God for ever; from henceforth tarrying till his foes be made his footstool. For with one offering hath he made perfect for ever them that are sanctified."

Moreover the blessed apostle and evangelist John doth
[1 John i. 7; ii. 2.] no less truly than evidently testify, saying: "The blood of Jesus Christ the Son of God doth cleanse us from all sin." And again: "And he is the propitiation for our sins; not for ours only, but for the sins also of the whole world."

Against the Novatians and Anabaptists.

But now most vain and the very messengers of Satan himself are the Novatians and Anabaptists, which feign that we are by baptism purged into an angelical life, which is not polluted with any spots at all: but if it be polluted, then can he that is so defiled look for no pardon at all[2]. For, to pass over many other places of holy scripture, was not St Peter consecrated to God in baptism? Had he not tasted of God's good grace? [3]After that notable confession which
[Matt. xvi. 17.] he made, the Lord said unto him: "Happy art thou, Simon Bar-Jona; flesh and blood hath not revealed this unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven." Again, when the Lord
[John vi. 67—69.] demanded of his disciples, saying, "Will ye depart also?" then Peter in the name of them all answered; "Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life; and we believe and know that thou art Christ, the Son of the living God." And yet this very same Peter, after his baptism and tasting of the grace of God, sinned notwith-

[1 super lignum, Lat.]

[2 See Vol. II. p. 424. n. 3. and Bullinger, adv. Anabapt. Lib. I. cap. 11.]

[3 Certe, Lat. omitted; unquestionably.]

standing, and that too not lightly[4], in denying and forswearing his Lord and Master. Now was he, for this sin of his, altogether unpardonable? Was his return to God again stopped up by his stumbling? No, verily. For when he heard the cock crow, he remembered presently the words of the Lord, he descended into himself, he considered what he had done, he wept bitterly and mourned lamentably. And yet he was not long tormented in that grief without consolation. For the third day after, to the women which came to the Lord's sepulchre it was said by the angels: "Tell his disciples, and Peter, that he is risen, and goeth before you into Galilee." Lo here, the Lord will have it known to Peter by name, that he was risen. And why to Peter by name? Because, forsooth, he had sinned more grievously than the other: not that the Lord did like of Peter's sin; but because he would thereby declare to us that penitents do obtain forgiveness of their sins, so often as they do turn to the heavenly grace of God again. And not many days after he restored Peter to the ministry again, commending to him the charge of his sheep.

Moreover the Lord in Jeremy speaketh to the people of Israel, saying: "If any man put away his wife, and she[5] marry to another man, will her first husband turn to her again? But is not this land defiled? Hast thou not committed fornication with many? Yet turn thee to me again, saith the Lord." And the Galatians, being once rightly instructed by the apostle Paul, but after that seduced by the false apostles, revolted from the truth and preaching of the gospel: yet notwithstanding they obtained pardon. The Corinthians also, after they had received grace, did wittingly and willingly sin in many things: but yet upon repentance the apostle Paul promised them forgiveness of their sins at the hands of the Lord. [Jer. iii. 1.]

And what is more manifest than this, that all the saints do daily in earnest and truly, not hypocritically or falsely, pray saying, "Forgive us our trespasses?" They which pray thus do plainly confess that they are sinners; and the Lord promiseth to hear those that pray with faith. Therefore even those sins are forgiven at the prayers of penitents, which

[4 sed gravissime, Lat. omitted; but most heinously.]

[5 ab ipso divertens, Lat. omitted; turning aside from him.]

are committed after the grace of God is once known and obtained.

Now the places in the epistle to the Hebrews, which the Novatians allege for the confirmation of their opinion, I have in another place so thoroughly discussed[1], that I need not here busily to stand long upon them.

The sum of the true doctrine of repentance.

But now to gather a sum of those things which I have hitherto said concerning repentance; let us hold, that repentance is a turning to God, which, although he doth by his word and other means stir it up in us, is notwithstanding especially by the Holy Ghost so wrought in us, that with fear we love and with love we fear our just God and merciful Lord[2], from whom we were turned back, being sorry now with all our hearts that we with our sins did ever offend so gracious a Father. For being humbled before his eternal and most sacred majesty, we acknowledge the sins that are objected against us by the word of God: yea, we acknowledge that in us there is no integrity or soundness; but do heartily desire to be reconciled with God again: and since that reconciliation cannot be otherwise made than by the only Mediator the Lord Christ Jesus, we do by faith lay hold on him, by whom we, being acquitted from all our sins, are reputed of God for righteous and holy. This benefit whosoever do sincerely acknowledge, they cannot choose but hate sin and mortify the old man.

I would therefore now add other members belonging to this treatise of repentance, to wit, the mortification of the old man, and the renewing of the spirit, were it not that the very matter itself doth require to have somewhat said touching the confession[3] of sins and satisfaction for the same. For some there are that, when they speak of repentance, do speak some things contrary to the truth[4]. To the end therefore, dearly beloved, that ye be not ignorant what to think of these points according to the truth, I will not stick to stay somewhile in the exposition of the same. And I hope ye shall out of my words gather such fruit as ye shall not hereafter repent yourselves of.

[1 See Vol. II. p. 424.]

[2 ut revertamur ad ipsum, Deum, inquam, justum, a quo &c. Lat.]

[3 de confessione, Lat. But ed. 1587 has *forgiveness*.]

[4 de his, Lat. omitted; touching these points.]

Of the confession of sins.

To confess, or a confession, is in the holy scriptures diversely used. For it signifieth to praise the Lord, and to give him thanks for the benefits that we receive at his hands; and therefore confession is put for praise and thanksgiving. For the prophet saith: "O praise the Lord; for he is good, and his mercy endureth for ever[5]." Paul in his epistle to Titus, speaking of hypocrites, saith: "In words they confess[6] that they know God, but in their deeds they deny him." Here to confess doth signify to say, to profess, or to boast. In another place it is taken for to trust, to stay upon God's goodness, and to testify that confidence as well by words as deeds: and in that sense did St John use it in the fourth chapter of his epistle, and Paul in the tenth to the Romans. Moreover, to confess is to give glory to God, and freely to acknowledge thy sin and the judgment which is objected to thee for thy sin. Salomon in the twenty-eighth chapter of his Proverbs saith: "Whosoever hideth his iniquities" (or[7] doth as it were defend them), "nothing shall go well with him: but whoso confesseth and forsaketh them, to him shall be shewed mercy." The Hebrew tongue useth[8] the word *Jadah* for that which we call, to confess. Now *Jadah* signifieth to let slack, or loose[9], as when a bow once bended is unbended again. And *Modeh*[10], which cometh of *Jadah*, is as if one should say, confessing, yielding, or granting to be vanquished[11]. For God accuseth us, and pleadeth us guilty of sin and endangered[12] to punishment: which our flesh doth presently[13] acknowledge, but yet standeth stiff like a bended bow, until at length, when that stiffness is unbended, it doth acknowledge every thing that God objecteth against us. This acknowledging is called *Modeh*, that is, a confession. And we Germans say, *Es hat*

[5 Psal. cxxxvi. 1. Confitemini Domino.]

[6 Chap. i. 16. they confesse, Tyndale, 1534. Cranmer, 1539.]

[7 imo et, Lat.; nay also.]

[8 in hac sententia, Lat. omitted; in this sentence.]

[9 projicere vel dimittere, Lat.]

[10 ידה *to cast, cast forth, cast out.* מודה *confessing.* Parkhurst, Heb. Lex. in voc.]

[11 herbam præbens, Lat. For this proverbial phrase see Erasm. Adag. Chil. p. 707. col. 1. Hanov. 1617.]

[12 endangered to. See Tyndale's Doctr. Treatises, ed. Park. Soc. pp. 236, 502.]

[13 non protinus, Lat.; doth *not* presently.]

gelassen, Er hat geschnellt, when we mean that anything hath yielded, or that a man hath at last confessed that which he did afore either flatly deny or else dissemble.

Confession of sins ordained of God.

But now confession of sins is of more sorts than one; for the one is divine, the other human. I will first speak of the divine confession, then of the human.

We call that divine, whereof there be evident testimonies or examples in the holy scriptures, and which is instituted by God himself. That is a free acknowledging and flat confession of the sin which God[1] objecteth against us, whereby we do attribute all glory to God, and to ourselves shame and confusion; and therewithal do crave pardon of God, and of our neighbour, against whom we have sinned. Now sin is objected to us by God himself, who outwardly by the word, or the ministry of men, and sometimes by signs and wonders, and inwardly by the secret operation of his Holy Spirit, doth plead us guilty of sin and endangered to punishment, requiring of us a free and voluntary confession of our sins. For he liketh of a free and voluntary, not a feigned or extorted, confession. Truly, the citizens of Hierusalem and people of the Jewish religion did of their own accord come to the baptism of John, confessing their sins which John[2] in his preaching had objected against them. And after the ascension of Christ into heaven St Peter accused the sins[3] of the Jews; and immediately upon the accusation it followeth in the history: "When they heard this, they were pricked in their hearts, and said to Peter and the other apostles, Men and brethren, what shall we do?"—and so forth, as followeth in the second of the Acts. Likewise also the keeper of the prison at Philippos[4], feeling the earthquake, sprang out, and being instructed with the apostles' words confessed his sins and was baptized[5]. And the men of Ephesus which were given to magical arts, when they heard the calamity which the devil brought upon the sons of Sceva, their fellows and practisers in magic and sorcery, did fear exceedingly, and came and did confess their sins. Upon these causes for the most part doth the confession of sins especially arise.

[Acts xix. 13—19.]

[1 God, not in the original: quæ objicitur nobis, Lat.]
[2 beatus Joannes, Lat.]
[3 peccatum, Lat.]
[4 magister carceris Philippici, Lat. Acts xvi. 26—33.]
[5 and was baptized, not in Lat.]

The confession which is privately made to God.

Again, of the confession instituted by God there are two sorts, whereof the one is made to God, the other to our neighbour. That which is made to God is either private or public. We do then make our confession to God privately, when we disburden our hearts before God, open the secrets of our hearts to him alone, and, in acknowledging the sins that are in us, do earnestly beseech him to have mercy upon us. This confession is necessary to the obtaining of pardon for our sins: for unless we do acknowledge our own corruption and unrighteousness, we shall never by true faith lay hold on Christ, by whom alone we are to be justified. But here we think not that penitents must hasten to any other confessor to confess their sins unto, but unto God alone; for he alone doth forgive and blot out the offences of penitents[6]. He is the physician, to whom alone we must discover and open our wounds. He it is that is offended with us, and therefore of him we must desire forgiveness[7] and reconciliation. He alone doth look into our hearts and search our reins; to him alone therefore we must disclose our hearts. He alone calleth sinners unto him: let us therefore make haste unto him, prostrate ourselves before him, confess our faults unto him, and crave pardon for them of him. This confession, if it be made of a zealous mind to God-ward, although it cannot be made by word of mouth by reason of some impediment or want of the tongue[8], is notwithstanding acceptable to God[9], who doth not so much respect the mouth as the mind of man. On the other side, if we make confession with the mouth, and in heart are not thoroughly bent to the same[10], although we make that confession to God or the high-priest, yet doth not the Lord regard so vain a confession.

Concerning that true confession to God I have already spoken, where as[11] in the definition of repentance I said that penitents do acknowledge their sins: of which the scripture doth in many places substantially speak. David in the Psalms

[6 of penitents, not in Lat.]

[7 pax, Lat. Bullinger here borrows largely from Calvin. Instit. Lib. III. cap. 4. § 9.]

[8 by reason—tongue, the translator's addition.]

[9 cordium inspectore, Lat.; who looketh at the heart.—who—man, is the translator's paraphrase.]

[10 in Deum intenti non simus, Lat.] [11 cum, Lat.]

[Psal. li. 1, &c.] doth pray[1] saying: "Have mercy upon me, O God, according to the greatness of thy mercy. For I acknowledge my sins, and my sin is ever before me. To thee alone have I sinned, and done evil in thy sight." And so forth. And in another [Psal. xxxii. 5.] Psalm: "I have made my fault known unto thee, and mine unrighteousness have I not hid. I said, I will confess mine unrighteousness unto thee[2] against myself[3], and thou hast forgiven the wickedness of my sin." In the gospel the Lord teacheth to pray, and in prayer to confess and say: "Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors." And, when we pray so[4], he biddeth us to go aside into our chamber, that our heart and the devotion of our hearts may there appear unto our heavenly Father alone. The prodigal son doth in the field, where none but swine alone were to be seen, privately both make and offer the confession of his sin unto his father[5]. And that publican in the gospel, which is compared with the Pharisee, knocketh his breast, and with a lamentable [Luke xviii. 13.] voice doth to himself confess and say, "Lord, be merciful to me a sinner." Let us now also hear John, the holy apostle and evangelist, comprehending all that may be truly spoken [1 John i. 8, 9.] touching this confession in this one saying: "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. If we confess our sins, God is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all iniquity." With this private confession, which is made to God, is that voluntary confession always joined that is made before men. For penitents are humbled so often as the matter, the glory of God, and safeguard of our neighbour requireth, and do before men openly testify[6] that they have sinned unto God. For so David, when Nathan the prophet told him of his sin, cried [2 Sam. xii. 13.] out, saying: "I have sinned to the Lord." So also Zacheus, [Luke xix.] understanding that the Lord was upbraided for receiving him[7], doth openly confess his sin, and promise amendment.

[1 et confitetur, Lat.; and confess.]

[2 Domino, Lat.; unto the Lord.]

[3 confitebor adversus me, Lat.; accuse myself. Coverdale, 1535; and see Ainsworth in loc.]

[4 confitentesque, Lat.; and confess.]

[5 Rather, Among the swine frames the confession of his sin, and offers it to his father alone. Luke xv.]

[6 etiam testantur, Lat.; also testify.]

[7 for receiving him, added by the translator.]

We verily do publicly make our confession to God so as I told you a little above; but so much the rather yet, when after the hearing of the word of truth we do after that public or solemn manner, either in the church, or otherwise in some congregation or holy assembly[8], recite our sins committed, and cry to God for mercy and pardon of the same. Truly, of old the Lord appointed in our forefathers' days, that, the priest going before in words premeditated for the purpose, the whole people should follow him word for word, and openly confess their sins in the temple[9]. Whereupon undoubtedly it is at this day received in the church of the Christians, that, the pastor or doctor of the church going before in words conceived, at the end of the exposition of the scriptures[10], before the assembly is dismissed, all the people should openly in the temple confess all their sins against God, and heartily desire him of his mercy to forgive them the same[11]. The public confessions of sins are notably known, which were made by Daniel, Esdras, and Nehemias. And I say plainly[12] that that was a public confession of sins, which St Matthew in his third chapter saith that the Jews did make: for all Jewry came out to John the forerunner of the Lord, "and were baptized of him in Jordan, confessing their sins." For when they did publicly receive baptism, then did they thereby declare and openly confess their sins. For baptism is the sign of the cleansing of sins: therefore they that are baptized confess that they are sinners. They that were not baptized thought

Public or open confession.

Levit. xvi.

[8 or holy assembly, not in Lat.—coram hominibus, Lat. omitted; before men.]

[9 See above, pages 165, 197.]

[10 et paulo antequam, Lat.; and a little before.]

[11 The divines of Cologne, in the Enchiridion appended to the canons of their provincial Council, 1538, having referred, as Bullinger here, to Nehemiah iv. and ix., also observe: Hinc finita concione, generalem et publicam confessionem ad populum pronuntiat (sacerdos) ac monet, ut se pronuntiantem populus eisdem verbis prosequatur. fol. 140.—In the reformed churches the general confession of the minister and people was ordinarily placed at the opening of public worship. Durel's View of the Government, &c. in Reformed Churches beyond the seas, p. 35. Lond. 1662. Sect. I. § 38. But see The Order of the Church in Denmark, &c. Works of Bp. Coverdale, ed. Park. Soc. p. 472.]

[12 interpretor, Lat.]

themselves to be otherwise purged, and that they need[1] not any sanctification. The Ephesians did publicly confess their sins, when, gathering their books of witchcraft together, they burned them in the fire: for by the burning of those books they did confess, that they had committed wickedness that was to be purged with fire.

Acts xix.

Confession that is made to our neighbour.

Now the confession that is made to our neighbour is of this sort: Thou hast offended thy brother[2], or else he perhaps hath done thee injury, for which ye are at discord, and do hate one another: in this case verily ye must think of reconciliation. Let the one therefore go to the other, and confess, and ask pardon for the fault committed; and let him that is innocent in the matter[3] freely forgive him that confesseth his fault, and so become his friend again. Of this confession the apostle James spake, saying: "Confess your faults one to another, and pray one for another, that ye may be healed." And[4] our Lord and Saviour did before James teach us, saying: "If thou offerest thy gift at the altar" (for he speaketh to those among whom at that time the sacrifices of the law were yet in use), "and dost remember there that thy brother hath any thing against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy ways; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then thou mayest come and offer thy gift." To this also doth belong that parable, which the Lord putteth forth and expoundeth in the eighteenth chapter after St Matthew, of him that was cast into perpetual prison, because, when he had found favour at his Lord's hand, he was over cruel upon his fellow-servant, to whom he would not forgive so much as a farthing. For in the sixth chapter after St Matthew the Lord saith: "If ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you. But if ye forgive not men their trespasses, no more will your Father[5] forgive you your trespasses." Not that for our forgiving of others our sins are forgiven us; for so the forgiveness of our sins should not be free, but should come by our merits and as a recompence of our deserts: but now when our sins are freely forgiven through faith, verily that unreconcileable and

[James v. 16.]

[Matt. v. 23, 24.]

[1 needed, ed. 1577.] [2 proximum, Lat.; neighbour.]
[3 that is innocent in the matter, not in Lat.]
[4 Quia, Lat.; Because.]
[5 pater cœlestis, Lat. Matth. vi. 14, 15.]

hard heart is an assured argument that there is no faith in a hard, stubborn, and unappeasable man. But where there is no faith, there is no remission. Therefore voluntary forgiveness in a man towards his neighbour is not that[6] for which we are forgiven of God our Father, but is an evident sign and natural fruit of true faith and the grace of God in us[7].

Consultation.

To these two kinds of confession some men add that whereby they, that are oppressed in conscience with any grievous sin, doth[8] consult or ask counsel either of the pastor of the Lord's flock, or else of some other that is expert and skilful in the laws[9] of God. But that is rather to be termed a consultation than a confession; and it is in no place either commanded or forbidden, and therefore left free at every man's choice. Wherefore no man ought to be compelled to this consultation. But if any brother do demand counsel either of the minister of the church, or of any other private brother, then charity commandeth thee to satisfy him, if so be that thou canst. Yea, if he demandeth not, and thou dost see thy brother to be in danger, charity again commandeth thee to admonish him that is so in danger, and to handle him as a brother. For Paul to the Galatians saith: "Brethren, if a man be prevented in any fault, ye which are spiritual restore such an one in the spirit of meekness, considering theeself lest thou also be tempted. Bear ye one another's burden, and so fulfil the law of Christ." But this belongeth nothing to confession; therefore we return to our purpose again.

[Gal. vi. 1, 2.]

Confessions of sins ordained of men.

Thus much have we hitherto said touching the confession of sins which God hath instituted. Now we will annex somewhat touching the confession of sins that men have ordained. That confession also is of two sorts: the one is public, ritual or ceremonial, which for the most part they call Ἐξομολόγησις; the other is private or secret, and is called auricular.

Exhomologesis.

I call the public confession ritual, not so much because it is the acknowledging or confession of sin, as for that it is the penitential action for the sin committed. For Isidore the bishop, Libro Etymol.[10] VI. cap. 18, saith: *Exhomologesis* "is the

[6 is not that—but, the translator's addition.]
[7 within us, ed. 1577.] [8 do, ed. 1577.]
[9 law, ed. 1577. legis, Lat.]
[10 Hispalen. Episcopus, Lat.: Bishop of Seville, A.D. 595.]

discipline of prostrating and humbling men in habit, in living, to lie in sack and ashes, to deface the body with filth, to mourn and lament with a sorrowful mind, and through sorrow to amend that wherein they sinned before[1]." These words of bishop Isidore I would not have recited unto you, dearly beloved, who is an author not very famous, unless I had seen the same words in a manner to be read in the book which Tertullian wrote of repentance[2]; and unless I had found an example thereof in Eusebius, who in the fifth book and last chapter of his Ecclesiastical History saith: "Natalis the martyr, being seduced by heretics, and at length understanding his error, riseth up in the morning, and putting on a sackcloth, sprinkling himself with ashes, and with many tears bewailing his error, casting himself prostrate at the feet of Zephyrinus the bishop and all other, not clerks only, but laymen also, with great lamentation and exceeding sorrow provoked all the congregation with earnest and continual prayers to request of Christ Jesus to pardon his offence[3]."

I find him otherwise called Natalius.

Touching the rites of repentance I will hereafter speak. Now this ritual or ceremonial repentance, as it was used among them of old, appeareth not to have been commanded of God, that whosoever at this day committeth any sin should be compelled presently to confess[4] it openly in such

[1 Exomologesis prosternendi et humiliandi hominis disciplina est habitu, atque victu; sacco et cineri incubare; corpus sordibus obscurare; animum mœroribus dejicere; illa, quæ peccavit, tristi tractatione mutare.—Isidor. Opp. Etymolog. Lib. VI. cap. 19. § 79. Tom. III. p. 292. Rom. 1798.]

[2 Tertulliani Opp. de Pœnit. cap. 9. Tom. IV. p. 52. ed. Semler. Hal. Mag. 1824.]

[3 Confessor quidam erat apud nos, Natalis (Νατάλιος Gr. ed. Burton) nomine.... Hic, deceptus aliquando ab Asclepiodoto quodam et Theodoto collectariis,.... adquievit ut.... episcopus illius hæresis nominaretur.... Ad ultimum a sanctis angelis per totam noctem verberatus,.... mane consurgens, cilicio se induit, et cinere conspergit, ac multis lacrymis errorem suum deflens, ante pedes se Zephyrini episcopi prosternit, et vestigiis omnium, non modo clericorum, sed etiam laicorum, multa cum lamentatione provolutus, in lacrymas et miserationes omnem provocavit ecclesiam, ut indulgentiam sibi a Christo continuis et jugibus pro ipso precibus implorarent.—Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib. v. cap. 28. Ruffinus' translation, which Bullinger adopts. Basil. 1539. p. 126.]

[4 pœnitere, Lat.]

sort as they were wont to do it. For where is it read that such penance was enjoined to the sinful or adulterous woman that is mentioned in the gospel? Many other sinners are received by Christ into the grace of God without such outward penance. For it is very well known how Christ dealt with Matthew, with Zacheus, with Peter that denied him, and with many other. Therefore we do not amiss[5] believe that the old bishops and priests did invent that public kind of penance for discipline's sake, and that they of their times might have less liberty to sin. Truly Hermius[6] Sozomenus Salaminius, that notable writer of the Ecclesiastical History, in his seventh book and sixteenth chapter saith: "In the beginning it pleased the priests, that as it were in a theatre, where all the congregation might bear record of the same, the sins of offenders should be openly punished." Lo here, he saith, "It pleased the priests." He addeth also, that there was a priest appointed, to whom they that sinned should come and confess their sins, and should hear of him the penance, to wit, what they should do, or how they should aby[7] for their transgression. Immediately after he describeth the manner of penance in the Romish church used. And to that again he addeth, that "in the church at Constantinople there was a priest appointed to hear penitents; which office remained still, till at the length a certain gentlewoman, which for the sins that she had confessed was enjoined by such a penitentiary to fast, and to pray to God, and thereby having occasion to be long in the church, was at last bewrayed to have played the whore with a deacon: for which cause the priests were evil spoken of. But Nectareus the bishop, devising how it were best to deal with such a grievous crime, deprived the deacon, that had done the sin, of his deaconship. And for because some persuaded them[8] to leave it free to every one, according to his own conscience and confidence, to come to the communion of the mysteries, he did quite take away the office of that penitentiary priesthood: and ever since that time hath that counsel given to Nectareus prevailed, and doth even to this day endure." And so forth. The same in the beginning of the chapter saith: "Nectareus, the bishop of Constantinople, did first take out of the church the priest that was appointed

Luke vii. John viii.

An elder.

[5 non temere, Lat.]
[6 Hermias.]
[7 quid luendum, Lat.]
[8 him, ed. 1577.]

to hear the confession of penitents, whom all the other bishops did in a manner follow[1]." Thus far he.

But the bishop Nectareus would not have abrogated that *Exhomologesis*, (being so holy a man as indeed he was,) if he had understood that it had been instituted by God himself: neither had it been lawful for him to have abrogated it. Therefore he knew, even as Sozomen doth also confess, that by the counsel of the bishops that order of penance was usurped in the church. Neither do we read that John Chrysostom, who succeeded Nectareus[2], and was a very diligent and severe bishop, did ever restore that ritual penance which his predecessor had abrogated before him. For in the thirty-first homily upon St Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews he writeth: "I bid thee not to bewray theeself openly, nor yet to accuse thyself to others; but I will have thee to obey the holy prophet, who saith, Open thy way unto the Lord. Therefore confess thy sins before God, the true and upright Judge, with prayers for the injury committed[3]: not with thy tongue, but with the memory of thy conscience. And then at length believe that thou mayest obtain mercy, if thou hast it[4] in thy mind continually[5]." And so forth. Again

John Chrysostom's doctrine concerning confession.

[1 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν μετανοούντων τεταγμένον πρεσβύτερον οὐκέτι συνεχώρησεν εἶναι πρῶτος Νεκτάριος, ὁ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐπιτροπεύων· ἐπηκολούθησαν δὲ σχεδὸν οἱ πανταχοῦ ἐπίσκοποι... φορτικὸν, ὡς εἰκὸς, ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἔδοξεν, ὡς ἐν θεάτρῳ ὑπὸ μάρτυρι τῷ πλήθει τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἐξαγγέλλειν· (The Tripartite History gives these words of Sozomen, as Bullinger also,—but *incorrectly*—propterea visum est antiquis pontificibus, ut velut in theatro sub testimonio ecclesiastici populi delicta pandantur.) πρεσβύτερον δὲ τῶν ἄριστα πολιτευομένων ἐχέμυθόν τε καὶ ἔμφρονα, ἐπὶ τοῦτο τετάχασιν, ᾧ δὴ προσιόντες οἱ ἡμαρτηκότες τὰ βεβιωμένα ὡμολόγουν· ὁ δὲ, πρὸς τὴν ἑκάστου ἁμαρτίαν, ὅ τι χρὴ ποιῆσαι ἢ ἐκτίσαι ἐπιτίμιον θεὶς, ἀπέλυε..... Τάδε μὲν ἀρχῆθεν οἱ Ῥωμαίων ἱερεῖς ἄχρι καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς φυλάττουσιν. Ἐν δὲ τῇ Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἐκκλησίᾳ, &c.—Sozomen. Hist. Eccles. Lib. VII. cap. 16, pp. 299, 300. ed. Reading. Cantab. 1720. Tom. II. See also Works of Bp. Pilkington. ed. Parker Soc. p. 553.]

[2 Socratis Hist. Eccles. Lib. VI. cap. 2. Sozomen. Hist. Eccles. Lib. VIII. cap. 2.]

[3 Bullinger has here read, delicta *pro injuria*, for delicta *pronuncia*, as this passage is quoted, Lombard. Sentent. Lib. IV. distinct. 17. c.]

[4 it, wanting in ed. 1587.]

[5 Οὐ λέγω σοι, ἐκπόμπευσον σαυτὸν, οὐδὲ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις κατηγόρησον, ἀλλὰ πείθεσθαι συμβουλεύω τῷ προφήτῃ λέγοντι, Ἀποκάλυψον πρὸς

upon the fiftieth Psalm: "If thou art ashamed to tell thy sins to any man because thou hast sinned, yet say them daily in thine own heart: I bid thee not confess them to thy fellow, that he should upbraid thee: tell them to thy God who doth regard them. If thou tellest them not, God is not ignorant of them; for he was at hand when thou didst them[6]." And again in another place he saith: "I bring thee not forth into the theatre of thy companions: I compel thee not to discover thy sins unto mortal men. Rehearse thy conscience before God, and declare it unto him. Shew thy wounds unto the Lord, thy best physician, and ask of him a salve for the same[7]." Again: "Take heed that thou tell not a man of thy sins, lest he bewray thee and upbraid thee for them. For thou needest not to confess them to thy companion, that he should bring them abroad, but to the Lord which hath the care of thee, who also is a gentle physician: to him therefore thou shalt shew thy wounds[8]." Moreover he bringeth in the Lord speaking and saying: "I compel thee not to come into the open theatre, and to make many privy to thy sins: tell thy sin privately to me alone, that I may heal thy sore[9]." Thus much out of Chrysostom. Now all this doth manifestly argue, that that ceremonial penance (as it was once used in the church), not instituted by God,

Κύριον τὴν ὁδόν σου. Ἐπὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ ταῦτα ὁμολόγησον, ἐπὶ τοῦ δικαστοῦ ὁμολόγει τα ἁμαρτήματα, εὐχόμενος, εἰ καὶ μὴ τῇ γλώττῃ, ἀλλὰ τῇ μνήμῃ, καὶ οὕτως ἀξίου ἐλεηθῆναι. Ἂν ἔχῃς τὰ ἁμαρτήματα διηνεκῶς ἐν τῇ μνήμῃ, &c.—Chrysost. Hom. xxxi. in Ep. ad Hebr. cap. 12. Tom. xii. pp. 289, 290. Par. 1718—38.]

[6 Ἀλλ' αἰσχύνῃ εἰπεῖν διότι ἥμαρτες; λέγε αὐτὰ καθ' ἡμέραν ἐν τῇ εὐχῇ σου. Καὶ τί; μὴ γὰρ λέγω εἰπὲ τῷ συνδούλῳ τῷ ὀνειδίζοντί σε· εἰπὲ τῷ Θεῷ τῷ θεραπεύοντι αὐτά· οὐ γὰρ, ἐὰν μὴ εἴπῃς, ἀγνοεῖ αὐτὰ ὁ Θεός. Μὴ γὰρ παρὰ σοῦ βούλεται αὐτὰ μαθεῖν; ὅτε ἔπραττες αὐτὰ, παρῆν. —Id. Hom. in Psal. l. Tom. v. p. 589. But this treatise is spurious.]

[7 Οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰς θέατρόν σε ἄγω τῶν συνδούλων τῶν σῶν· οὐδὲ ἐκκαλύψαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀναγκάζω τὰ ἁμαρτήματα. Τὸ συνειδὸς ἀνάπτυξον ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ αὐτῷ δεῖξον τὰ τραύματα, καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ τὰ φάρμακα αἴτησον.—Id. de Incomprehens. Dei Nat. Hom. v. Tom. i. p. 490.]

[8 Μὴ γὰρ ἀνθρώπῳ λέγεις, ἵνα ὀνειδίσῃ σε; μὴ γὰρ συνδούλῳ ὁμολογεῖς, ἵνα ἐκπομπεύσῃ; τῷ δεσπότῃ, τῷ κηδεμόνι, τῷ φιλανθρώπῳ, τῷ ἰατρῷ τὸ τραῦμα ἐπιδεικνύεις.—Chrysost. Conc. de Lazaro. iv. Tom. i. p. 757.]

[9 Οὐκ ἀναγκάζω, φησὶν, εἰς μέσον ἐλθεῖν σε θέατρον, καὶ μάρτυρας περιστῆσαι πολλούς· ἐμοὶ τὸ ἁμάρτημα εἰπὲ μόνῳ κατ' ἰδίαν, ἵνα θεραπεύσω τὸ ἕλκος.—Ibid. p. 758. See also Calvin. Instit. Lib. iii. cap. 4. § 8.]

was without any injury taken out of the church, and not[1] restored again by the bishops that succeeded. They do not altogether in vain tell us that some relics of that ritual repentance abided still in the Roman church[2]. But what have we to do what every church hath taken to itself, either to keep or else to lay away? We rather ought to inquire, what Christ hath delivered unto us, and what his apostles have taught us; of whose doctrine I have, I think, spoken enough already.

Of auricular confession.

The private or secret confession of sins was wont to be made when none were by but the priests alone. For one goeth secretly, and whispereth his sins in the ear of the priest that was appointed to hear those secret confessions; and, being by him absolved, doth think that by the recital of a few ordinary words he is purged from all his sins: and therefore I call it auricular confession. This was unknown in the apostles' times; and although it be now a good sort of years ago since it first took root, yet notwithstanding it was free from the beginning. At last we read that it was commanded and roughly extorted by the bishop of Rome, when the state of the church was most corrupted, about the year of grace 1215. And yet it was about eighty years or more in controversy, before it was by decree laid upon all men's necks, "whether it were enough for a man to confess himself to God alone, or else to a priest also, for the purging of his sins?" Hugo in his book of the church's power to bind and loose doth say: "I dare boldly say, if before the priest's absolution any man do come to the communion of the body and blood of the Lord, that he doth assuredly eat and drink his own damnation, although he repent him never so much, and doth never so greatly lament his offences[3]." This did Hugo say boldly without his warrant,

[1 neque mox, Lat.]

[2 Credimus hanc confessionem—nunquam penitus abolitam fuisse, non solum in Romana, sed ne in Græca quidam ecclesia.—Enchirid. Colon. fol. 145.]

[3 Audacter dico, si ante sacerdotis absolutionem ad communionem corporis et sanguinis Christi accesserit, judicium sibi pro certo manducat et bibit, etsi eum peccasse jam multum pœniteat, et vehementer doleat et ingemiscat.—Ricardi Sancti Victor. Scoti Opp. Colon. Agrip. 1621. Tract. de Potest. Ligandi et Solvendi. cap. XXI. p. 519. par. I.—He died abbot of St Victor, A.D. 1173. Gall. Christ. Tom. VII. p. 669.

unless the word of God doth instruct us falsely. He lived about the year of our Lord 1130. Within a little while after him upstarted Peter Lombard, commonly called the Master of Sentences, because he gathered together the sentences of the fathers, and laid forth their doctrine as it were in a summary: of whose work I mean not here to tell my judgment what I think. It is thought that he flourished about the year of Christ 1150[4]. He, *Sententiarum*, Lib. IV. *Dist.* 17, and 18, doth by the authority of the fathers shew, first, that it sufficeth to make the confession of sins to God alone: then he annexeth other sentences which teach the contrary; and lastly concludeth of himself and saith: "By these it is undoubtedly proved, that we must offer our confession first to God, then to the priest, and that otherwise we cannot enter into paradise, if we may (have a priest)." Again: "It is certified that it is not sufficient to confess to God without a priest; neither is he truly humble and penitent, that doth not desire the judgment of a priest[5]." Gratian, that gathered the decretals together[6], was somewhat honester than Peter Lombard, who lived and flourished at the same time with Lombard. He determineth nothing definitively; but shewing sentences for either side, both that we must confess our sins to the priest and not confess them, doth leave it indifferently unto the reader's judgment. For thus he concludeth: "Upon

Watt's Biblioth. Brit. Mosheim, Eccles. Hist. Vol. II. p. 439. ed. Soames, note 7.—Hugo of St Victor, whom Bullinger names by mistake, was born A.D. 1096, and died 1140. Mosheim, ibid. note 6.]

[4 He died bishop of Paris, A.D. 1164. Mosheim, Eccles. Hist. Book III. cent. 12. part II. chap. 2. § 23. ed. Soames. Vol. II. p. 440, note 2.]

[5 The title of Sentent. Lib. IV. distinct. 17 C. is, Si sufficit soli Deo confiteri; and there Lombard says, Quibusdam visum est sufficere, si soli Deo fiat confessio sine judicio sacerdotali et confessione ecclesiæ: p. 340. But the title of the following section is, Quod non sufficit soli Deo confiteri, si tempus adsit, si tamen homini possit; and then Lombard concludes in the words quoted by Bullinger: Ex his aliisque pluribus indubitanter ostenditur, oportere Deo primum, et deinde sacerdoti offerri confessionem, nec aliter posse perveniri ad ingressum paradisi, si adsit facultas; p. 341: and in the next section, E. p. 342, Certificatum est, quod non sufficit confiteri Deo sine sacerdote: nec est vere humilis et pœnitens, si non desiderat et requirit sacerdotis judicium.]

[6 He completed his Decretum about A.D. 1151. Mosheim, Eccles. Hist. Vol. II. p. 411, note 2.]

what authority and reasons both the opinions of confession and satisfaction are grounded, we have briefly here declared. But to which of these we ought rather to stick, that is reserved for the reader to choose; for both parts have wise and religious men to their fautors and defenders[1]." Thus saith Gratian about the end of the first distinction of penance.

A law made, wherein auricular confession was first commanded.

About fifty years after followed Lotharius Levita[2], a doctor of Paris, the scholar[3] and earnest follower of Peter Lombard. He, being once made bishop of Rome and named Innocent the Third, called together at Rome a general council called *Lateranense*[4], in which he made a law, which Gregory the Ninth reciteth in his decretal of penance and remission, Lib v. chap. 12, almost in these very words: "Let every person of either sex, after they are come to the years of discretion, faithfully confess alone, at least once in a year, their sins unto their own proper priest, and do their endeavour with their own strength to do the penance that is enjoined them; receiving reverently at Easter at the least the sacrament of the Eucharist, unless peradventure by the counsel of their own priest, for some reasonable cause, they think it good for a time to abstain from receiving it. Otherwise in this life let them be prohibited to enter into the church; and when they are dead, to be buried in christian burial[6]."

The Latin copy hath, *semel in animo*; falsely I think for *semel in anno*[5].

This is that new law which containeth many absurd and

[1 Quibus auctoritatibus vel quibus rationum firmamentis utraque sententia confessionis et satisfactionis innitatur, in medium breviter exposuimus. Cui autem harum potius adhærendum sit, lectoris judicio reservatur. Utraque enim fautores habet sapientes et religiosos viros. —Gratian. Decret. pars II. caus. 33. quæst. 3. de Pœnitent. dist. 1. cap. 89. ad fin.]

[2 Lothaire Conti, born in A.D. 1160 or 1161, studied in the university of Paris, and was elected pope A.D. 1198. Mosheim, Vol. II. p. 508, note 7. Lotharius Levita, or the Deacon, was the name under which he wrote before he became pope. Centur. Magd. cent. XII. Watt's Biblioth. Brit.]

[3 the scholar, not in Lat.]

[4 The Fourth Lateran, called by the Romanists the Twelfth General Council, was held A.D. 1215. Mosheim, Eccles. Hist. Book III. cent. 13. part 2. chap. 3. § 2. Vol. II. p. 559. n. 2.]

[5 This error is corrected in the London reprint by H. Midleton. P.]

[6 Omnis utriusque sexus fidelis, postquam ad annos discretionis pervenerit, omnia sua solus peccata confiteatur fideliter saltem semel

wicked blasphemies. And, to let pass very many of their absurdities, I will recite unto you not past one or twain of the foulest of them. Is it not a wicked thing, to send a sinner to I wot not what kind of priest of his own, when Christ hath given but ministers and preachers to his church only, being still himself the universal priest, and proper priest to every one in the church, even until the end of the world; to whom alone all the faithful ministers do send sinners from themselves for to confess their sins to him? For John said: "I am not Christ, but am sent before him to bear record of him." What may be said to this moreover, that it is a detestable blasphemy to attribute the remission of sins to our own confession and the priest's absolution, as to the works of mortal men? And who, I pray you, is able to reckon up all his sins unto the priest? Doth not Jeremy cry, "The heart of man is evil and unsearchable?" Doth not David say, "Who knoweth his sins? Cleanse me from my hidden faults." It is unpossible for a man to confess all his sins. While therefore a man, compelled by the law, doth consider these reasons and ponder them in himself, he cannot choose but must needs be drowned in the bottomless depth of desperation: so great a burden is laid upon the free necks of Christ his faithful people, as a thing so necessary that without it they cannot obtain eternal salvation, directly contrary to the apostles' decree that is to be seen in the fifteenth of the Acts. And lastly, what, I pray you, is a sinner able to do of his own strength? What power, I pray you, have we silly wretches[7] of ourselves to do good?

[John iii. 28.]

[Jer. xvii. 9.]

[Psal. xix. 12.]

But it grieveth me, and I am ashamed of these men's impudency, to see that they will have this their auricular confession to be instituted of God, and that they go about to uphold and confirm it by the scriptures; guilefully[8] wresting

Auricular confession can be proved by no place in all the scripture.

in anno proprio sacerdoti; et injunctam sibi pœnitentiam studeat pro viribus adimplere: suscipiens reverenter ad minus in Pascha eucharistiæ sacramentum; nisi forte de consilio proprii sacerdotis, ob aliquam rationabilem causam, ad tempus ab ejus perceptione duxerit abstinendum: alioquin, et vivens ab ingressu ecclesiæ arceatur, et moriens christiana careat sepultura.—Concil. Lateran. IV. in Concil. stud. Labb. et Coss. Tom. XI. par. 1. coll. 172, 3. Lutet. Par. 1671. See also Decret. Gregor. IX. Lib. v. tit. 38. fol. 314. col. 4. Lugd. 1510.]

[7 silly (weak) wretches, not in Lat.]

[8 proferunt, Lat.; guilefully wresting, the translator's paraphrase.]

that place in the gospel where the Lord saith to the leper, [Matt. viii. 4.] "Go thy way, shew thyself to the priest." Now they do not impudently wrest this place alone, contrary to the true sense; but do also corrupt all the other testimonies of holy scriptures which they are wont to cite. Among all the rest I will tell you of this one. Bonaventura, in his Commentaries, *Ad Sententias Magistri*, Lib. iv. Dist. xvii. Quæst. 3, imagineth two things to be in confession: the one formal, to wit, absolution, or the power to heal; and this he saith was instituted by the Lord at the giving of the keys: the other is material, to wit, the disclosing of the sin; and this he saith that the Lord himself did not institute, but only insinuate. For immediately after he addeth these words: "And therefore confession was insinuated by the Lord, instituted by the apostles, and openly proclaimed by James the bishop of Hierusalem. For as he proclaimed the decree of not keeping the ceremonial laws, Acts xv.; so also he published and laid upon all them that sin the necessity of confession, saying, Confess your sins one to another." Thus much hath Bonaventura[1]. But who will not wonder at the blindness of that age? This writer acknowledgeth that auricular confession was not instituted by the Lord, but obscurely[2], and as it were by conjectures of the consequents[3]; that the apostles expounded the mind of Christ and instituted it; and that St James in the name of all the apostles did by a decree openly proclaim it. He addeth, that the words of the proclamation were, "Confess your sins one to another." Now what is it else to wrest the scriptures, if this be not to wrest them? Even he that is the blindest doth easily see, that these cham-

[1 Dicendum quod duo sunt in confessione: unum formale et completivum; et hoc est absolutio, sive potestas absolvendi vel medicandi; et hanc Dominus instituit, qui potestatem clavium concessit; et penes hos residet virtus. Aliud autem est materiale; et hoc est detectio peccati sive morbi: et hoc Dominus non instituit in se, sed insinuavit. . . . Et ideo confessio fuit a Domino insinuata, ab apostolis instituta, ab episcopo Hierosolymitano, scilicet Jacobo, promulgata: sicut enim sententia de non servandis legalibus promulgata (Actor. xv.) fuit, sic et confessio omnibus peccantibus indicta et imposita fuit, Confitemini alterutrum peccata vestra.—Bonavent. Opp. Sent. Lib. iv. dist. 17. quæst. 1. par. 2. art. 1. quæst. 3. Tom. v. p. 224. Mogunt. 1609.]

[2 implicite, Lat.]

[3 ex quadam consequentia, Lat.]

pions are unweaponed in this same combat[4], bringing forth a spear made of a wrapt-up wisp of hay[5], which they shake and keep a coil with[6], as if it were the lance-staff of Hector or Achilles. It is most evident that the apostle speaketh not of secret and auricular confession, but of that confession which by a certain reciprocation is made of them that have mutually offended one another; and now again, freely confessing themselves one to another, are mutually reconciled, and pray one for another again: of which I have said somewhat already a little before. They do not see that in the apostle's words there are two things, which being diligently considered do make them mere mocking-stocks to them that perceive them. For first the apostle in that place useth this word ἀλλήλους, which signifieth mutually, one another, one for one, and as it were reciprocally. Thereupon we infer thus: If according to the apostle's precept we must confess ourselves one to another, and that ἀλλήλους doth signify mutually or reciprocally, that is, that we must confess ourselves by turns, as it were first I to him and then he to me, as it signifieth so in very deed; then must it needs be, that after the laymen have confessed themselves to the priests, the priests should again confess themselves unto the laymen; for that is to make confession one to another: for we say, φιλοῦσιν ἀλλήλους, that is, they love one another mutually, he him and he him again. But if this trouble the priests[7], to have their confessions heard of laymen[8]; let them then acknowledge that this place of the apostle doth make nothing for their secret and auricular confession, which they have devised for their own commodity. Then the apostle addeth: "And pray ye one for another, that ye may be healed." He doth therefore associate, and as it were join under one yoke, both confession and prayer. And upon that we do again gather, If we must confess to none but priests, then must we pray for none but priests[9]. But we must not pray for priests alone; *ergo*, we must not confess to priests

[4 inermes in hac palæstra, Lat.]

[5 telum hujusmodi, non fraxineum, sed prorsus betaceum: made of beet.]

[6 coil: noise, tumult, difficulty. Nares' Gloss.]

[7 presbyteris, Lat.]

[8 to have—laymen, the translator's addition.]

[9 This argument is also Calvin's, Instit. Lib. III. cap. 4. § 6.]

alone, but every one one to another. The same place of St James must not be understood of secret and auricular confession, but of that open or public confession by which they return into charity again by the mutual confession of their faults, which had before offended each other with mutual injuries; and, being now again reconciled, do pray one for another that they may be saved. We do therefore leave this for an undoubted truth, that the disputers for auricular confession neither have proved, nor can prove, that it was instituted and ordained of God.

Whether auricular confession ought to be received in the church for discipline's sake

But when they see that this their confession will to wrack[1], they go about with weak props, God wot[2], to stay it up, and say that that confession is to be retained still in the church, if it were for nothing else but for discipline's sake, to make men blush when their sins come to light; which is a cause many times that men do sin the seldomer. And also they say, that it is to be retained for private absolution and peculiar or singular consolation of the godly. But if auricular confession be so needful and profitable for the church as they will seem to have it, how chanced it that the church for the space of a thousand years[3] after the apostles' times was utterly without it? It is marvel then that the apostles did in no place either use it or command it. And again, it is manifest that the times which were before the coming of Christ did not once so much as dream of this confession: neither did the apostles leave the church of God destitute of anything necessary unto salvation. Now what discipline this auricular confession, planted in the church of God, is, the abominable deeds and wicked acts that ensued it do plainly declare. For both he that doth confess, and he that heard the confession, learned horrible wickedness even by the examination and beating out the circumstances of sins committed. By that means there were given and taken causes and occasions of whoredoms and adulteries. Under the pretence of those confessions the chastity of matrons and virgins hath been assaulted, and also corrupted, oftener times and more sundry ways than[4] is decent to be named. Those confessors fished

[1 wrack: ruin, destruction. Johnson.]
[2 quibusdam, Lat.; God wot, the translator's phrase.]
[3 amplius mille, Lat.; more than a thousand.]
[4 quam prosit aut, Lat.; than it is expedient or.]

out the secrets of every man's conscience: which thing availed greatly to the establishing of their tyranny. By those confessions the confessors could cunningly spoil and rob their shrift-children, as they called them, of their goods and substance; because they knew what riches every one had, and how he came by them. And when the peers of every common-wealth knew that the priests were privy to their faults, they could not choose but fear the priests: and so it came to pass, that they did not so strongly as they might set themselves against the extreme corruption and lust of the priests, that was otherwise not to be suffered[5]. They have been heard to say: "I have learned by confessions, and know at my fingers' ends, what kind of men, of women, and of maidens are in this city. I know how to handle every one according to his disposition. They do all fear and stand in awe of me, because they know that I am privy to their most secret deeds and thoughts of their minds." The secrets told in confession are many times foolishly babbled abroad with the peril of the silly soul that first confessed them. By the means of confessions no small and many treasons are hatched up and put in practice. And surely it is a goodly matter, when we for the fear or carnal blushing that we have by the means of one man (I mean, as some term him, of our ghostly father[6]) we shall cease to sin, rather than for the sincere fear that we have of God; when as in deed we do not blush at all to think that he[7] shall be a witness against our conscience, nor yet do fear the severity of his judgment that shall lighten upon us. What may be said to this moreover, that by this auricular confession, once established in the church, nothing else is wrought, but that the word of God should be the less regarded through our traditions, and we made the slacker to confess our sins to him, to whom of right we ought for to confess them[8]? For so often as we remember our sins, we do earnestly[9] put them off again until the time of confession come: and when it is come, then who, I pray you, goeth to it with a cheerful mind? Let wise men therefore judge what kind of discipline this is, and how well it pleaseth God[10].

[5 in populo Dei, Lat. omitted; in the people of God.]
[6 confessoris inquam, Lat.] [7 Deum, Lat.]
[8 to whom—them, the translator's addition.]
[9 securi, Lat.; carelessly, 1577.]
[10 Cf. Works of Bp. Pilkington, Parker Soc. ed. p. 554. Remains

Whether auricular confession is to be kept in the church for private absolution's sake, or not.

That which they allege of private absolution is a mere device of man's invention, which hath not in the sacred scriptures any precept or example to back itself withal. For in very deed none doth absolve us men from sin, blame, and punishment[1], but God alone, to whom alone that glory doth belong. The minister, by the preaching and consolation of the gospel, doth pronounce and testify that to the faithful their sins are forgiven. Therefore this preaching of forgiveness, being fetched from out of the mouth or word of God, is the absolution wherewith the minister absolveth. Neither is that absolution made any whit the more effectual, if the minister do privately whisper it into the sinner's ear. The public preaching of the gospel, as it is instituted by Christ our Lord, doth satisfy a faithful mind, which doth not so much respect the demeanour of the minister, as he regardeth the truth of him in whose name the minister doth it. But if a sinner, say they, do hear privately said unto him, "I absolve thee from thy sins," and that by the virtue of the keys; he doth far better understand that his sins are remitted than when forgiveness of sins is generally preached and publicly pronounced. But we do in this case set against them the apostle's example; whom when the men of Jerusalem had heard to preach, they were pricked in heart, and said: "Men and brethren, what shall we do? To whom Peter answered, Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Christ Jesus unto the remission of your sins, &c. And there were added to the church that same day about three thousand souls." Now who understandeth not, that[2] upon so great a multitude baptism was at once bestowed, and the remission of sins universally preached unto them all; and not that every one had this saying or the like whispered severally into his ear, 'Brother, thy sins are forgiven thee?' And verily a godly-minded man may learn true faith in Jesus Christ (through which his sins are forgiven him) as well by the public preaching of the gospel, as by the private whisperings of privy penitentiaries and absolving confessors: namely[3] since that

[Acts ii. 37—41.]

of Bp. Latimer, Vol. II. p. 179. Foxe, Monuments, Vol. III. p. 205; v. p. 191. Lond. 1838.]

[1 a pœna et culpa, Lat.]

[2 simul, Lat. omitted; at one and the same time.]

[3 præsertim, Lat.]

public preaching doth contain the commandments of God[4], when as those whisperings do nothing so; and finally, since that the public preaching of the gospel doth apply to every one the grace of God, and that the sacraments do testify the remission of sins and the heavenly gifts prepared for all them that do[5] believe in Jesus Christ. And yet I say not this because I think it amiss, when occasion serveth so to do, if the minister do preach privately to one or two the gospel of our Lord, or else in the words of Christ do promise remission of sins to him that believeth: but I do here dispute against them which do suppose that public and general preaching, as it was used of the apostles, declaring to all and every man[6] the remission of sins, is not sufficient, except the sinner, going to the priest, do confess his sins, and privately ask and receive private or peculiar absolution of him for the same. For they think that, for that private absolution's sake, this private or auricular confession must be retained in the church.

But we will not, say they, that all and every peculiar sin with the circumstances thereof should be reckoned up or rehearsed. What of that then? Who, I pray you, commanded us to whisper any sins at all into the priest's ear? The primitive church was wont to confess to the priests, neither few nor many, nor any sins at all. Bonaventura recorded that before pope Innocent the Third they were not counted heretics which affirmed, that confession made to God alone, without any priest, is sufficient to them that do faithfully believe; but after the decree which he published, touching confession to be made of every man unto his own priest, they were judged heretics that taught men to be confessed to God only[7]: as though it lay in pope Innocent to make a new article of faith, which the church was without by more than the space of twelve hundred years after Christ. Therefore if all they that lived before Innocent were without

[4 habeat præceptum, Lat.]

[5 Rather, testify that remission of sins and heavenly gifts are theirs who do, &c.]

[6 fidelibus, Lat. omitted; that believe. every several man, ed. 1577.]

[7 Dicendum quod si quis esset modo hujus opinionis (i. e. quod sufficiat si soli Deo fiat confessio), esset hæreticus judicandus, quoniam in concilio generali hoc determinatum est sub Innocentio III. Sed ante hanc determinationem hoc non erat hæresis.—Bonavent. Opp. Sentent. Lib. IV. par. 2. dub. 1. Tom. V. p. 220. Mogunt. 1609.]

suspicion of heresy in that point; and since we read that Nectarius and the church of Constantinople was not condemned of heresy for abrogating and casting out of the church their *exhomologesis*, which seemeth to be far better than this auricular confession; no godly man undoubtedly shall condemn us, which maintain the confession instituted by God, that is wont to be made to God and our neighbour, but do only reject and hiss at that secret and auricular confession, as that which bringeth more discommodity than honest profit to the church of God.

Of the satisfaction of works.

And for because I have hitherto said thus much of secret or auricular confession, upon which the treatise of satisfaction doth depend, I should here even of necessity say somewhat of satisfaction, had I not sufficiently spoken of it in mine other sermons of this work; as in the sixth and ninth sermons of the first Decade, and in the third Decade, where I entreat of the saints' affliction; in the tenth sermon of the same Decade, and also in the fourth Decade, where I spake of the gospel. The priests and monks do teach that repentance of the sin committed, and faith in Christ, are not sufficient for the purging of sins without the satisfaction of our own works and merits[1]; which they make to be, wearing of sackcloth, fasting, tears, prayers, alms-deeds, offerings, sundry afflictions of the body, pilgrimages, and many other odd knacks[2] like unto these. For they affirm, that by these means penalty due to sins (the guilt whereof, they say, is only pardoned) is washed away, as with a shower of water poured down upon it[3]. But we already have taught out of the canonical scriptures, that God doth not only forgive freely the guilt, but also the penalty of our sins. We have already taught, that men are not justified by their own works and merits, but by the mere grace of God through the faith of Christ Jesus: for otherwise he should in vain have taken our flesh upon him, and in vain should Christ have given himself unto the most bitter and reproachful death of the cross. Now we add, If we are not justified by works, then do we not with our works make satisfaction for our sins. For in effect (although I acknow-

Note here the difference that they make betwixt *pœna* and *culpa peccati*.

[1 and merits, not in Lat.]

[2 odd knacks, translator's phrase.]

[3 See Vol. I. p. 108, note 6. Lombard. Sent. Lib. IV. distinct. 10. cap. 10.]

ledge that there is a difference, and do not confound them) justification and satisfaction come both to one end. By the justification of Christ we are absolved: by the satisfaction of Christ, or rather for his satisfaction's sake, we are also absolved. Christ is our righteousness, and therefore also our satisfaction. The price of our redemption is in Christ, not in ourselves. If we make satisfaction for ourselves, then is the price of our redemption in ourselves. And therefore are we both Christs and Saviours unto ourselves: which thing doth flatly make Christ of none effect, and therefore is it extreme blasphemy. Moses in his law doth with little business or none dissolve all the arguments for satisfaction wrought by our works. For where he describeth the manner of cleansing sins, he placeth no jot thereof in the works of men, but sheweth that it all consisteth in the ceremonial sacrifices. Now we do all agree and jointly confess, that in those sacrifices the only sacrifice of Christ was plainly prefigured. And to that is added, that that only preaching and promise of the new testament is this: "I will be appeased upon their unrighteousness and sins, and will no more remember their iniquities." [Jer. xxxi. 34.] Now where such a remission is, there is no oblation or satisfaction for sin. And we in the creed verily do believe the forgiveness of sins. But if the debtor make satisfaction to the creditor, then what, I pray you, doth the creditor forgive him? Therefore this article of our faith, the principal promise and preaching of the new testament, is utterly subverted, if we admit the doctrine of the satisfaction of our works for sin.

God afflicteth them whose sins he hath forgiven.

We do acknowledge that tears, fastings, wearing of sackcloth, alms-deeds, and the other works of piety, humiliation, and charity, have a place[4] in repentance; of which I will speak in place convenient: but we deny[5] that with them we make satisfaction for our sins, lest we should make the price of Christ his redemption of none effect. We acknowledge that at some times the Lord hath whipped[6] them whose sins he hath forgiven, as he did to our parents Adam and Evah, and to king David after his adultery and murder of Urias. But I have already shewed[7] you that those afflictions were not satisfactions

[4 suum locum, Lat.; their own place.]
[5 modis omnibus, Lat. omitted; by all means.]
[6 sumpsisse supplicium vel pœnam, Lat.]
[7 See Vol. II. p. 430.]

for the sins which God had pardoned, but exercises of God's discipline and humiliation; which doth by those means keep his servants in their dutiful obedience, and doth declare to all men how heartily he hateth sins, although he doth freely forgive and pardon them. Therefore lest we, because of that free forgiveness, should be the more inclined and prone to sin, he punisheth them whom he maketh to be examples for us to take heed by.

Neither do we read that the saints did simply attribute the benefit of justification or satisfaction unto their afflictions. I confess that Daniel the prophet gave counsel to the most mighty king Nabuchodonosor, and said: "Let thy sins be redeemed in righteousness, and thine iniquities in shewing pity to the poor[1]:" but in these words the king was taught how to lead the rest of his life that was yet behind, and how to rule the state of his kingdom. The king had till then oppressed many nations, and sinned in merciless cruelty: whereupon he persuadeth him to change his old kind of life, to embrace justice, and deal well with all men. Therefore he speaketh not of the satisfaction of his sins before God, but before men. For there is salvation in none other than in Christ alone. But if any man do stubbornly stick upon the letter, we say, that the righteousness of Christians is faith, by which their sins are properly cleansed: and that faith is not without good works and charity[2], to which justification is unproperly ascribed. Of which matter I spake in the treatise that I made of good works[3].

[1 Pet. iv. 8; Prov. x. 12.]

Therefore, when St Peter doth cite that place in Salomon, "Charity covereth the multitude of sins;" the word 'covereth' is not there used for purging; for by the only blood of Christ all sins are purged and wiped away: but it is taken for turning away. For as self-love in a manner is the root of all sins, so charity is thought to be the driver away of all mischiefs; for "love doth none ill to his neighbour[4]."

Many sins be forgiven her because she loved much.

Now whereas they object that sentence of the gospel, where the Lord saith, "Many sins[5] be forgiven her, because

[1 justitia redimantur, Lat. Dan. iv. 27.]

[2 beneficentia vel caritate, Lat.] [3 See Vol. II. p. 327.]

[4 Rom. xiii. 10. Bullinger has here borrowed from his Commentary on St Peter, loc. cit.]

[5 Luke vii. 47. peccata ejus, Lat.]

she loved much:" they do miss herein, because they understand not that the word ὅτι, which is commonly Englished[6], *because*, or, *for that*, is here a note of inferring somewhat, and that no other sense is gathered than this: "Many sins be forgiven her, therefore she loved much; or, whereby it cometh, that she loveth much." Neither do we here wrest the words of the gospel to maintain a wrong opinion; for in the history there goeth before, first, "When they were not able to pay, he forgave them both." If he forgave them, and if they were not able to pay, he did not then forgive them for their love; for if they had been able to pay, he would not have forgiven them. Secondarily, there goeth before, "Whether of these will love him more?" Simon saith, "He to whom he forgave the more." Therefore the Lord's answer could in effect be nothing else but this: "I have forgiven her[7] very much, therefore hath she loved much." So then, I say, love is of forgiveness, and not forgiveness of love. And then it followeth immediately: "And he said to the woman, Thy faith hath saved thee, go in peace." We do therefore conclude, that there is but one only satisfaction for the sins of all the world, to wit, Christ once[8] offered up for us which are by faith made partakers of him.

Of indulgences.

But now, as we do not acknowledge or admit the satisfactions that are obtruded unto us in the doctrine of the priests and monks, so do we by all means detest the indulgences of the bishops of Rome. They called these indulgences a beneficial pardoning of crimes, or remission of the punishment, or of the guilt, or both; to wit, by the power of the keys bestowed by the Lord; and for the merit of the martyrs' blood (for so they say) granted or given to them that are rightly contrite in heart, and do confess their sins. For these fathers of indulgences[9] are wont with their indulgences to remit again the rigour and severity of the satisfaction, which lieth in them to order at their discretion[10]. Truly, as one said, "The fathers' gentle indulgence doth make the children naught[11];" so have their indulgences utterly corrupted true repentance. But thou canst read in no place that

[6 redditur, Lat.; rendered.] [7 huic mulieri, Lat.; this woman.]
[8 once, not in Lat.] [9 indulgentes patres, Lat.]
[10 suo impositam arbitrio, Lat.]
[11 Blanda patrum segnes facit indulgentia natos.—Joan. Baptist. Mantuan. Parthen. Lib. I. 164. Tom. I. Par. 1531.]

such power[1] was given to the popes as they did feign. We read that to the apostles the keys were given by the Lord: but those keys were nothing else but the ministry of preaching the gospel; as I in place convenient will shew unto you. Now the gospel promiseth to us remission both of the guilt and penalty for Christ his sake and faith in Christ, and doth admonish us that in the latter times there shall come men that shall say, We are Christs; that is, which shall attribute to themselves the things that do properly belong to Christ alone, such as is especially the forgiveness of sins. But it commandeth us to fly from them, and by all means to take heed of them, as of wicked seducers.

The same evangelical truth doth teach, that the faithful are cleansed by the only blood of the Son of God. Their indulgences do promise men the cleansing of their sins through the blood of St Peter, St Paul, and other holy martyrs. And for that cause are they the profanation of the blood of the Son of God. The saints do wash their garments in the blood of the Lamb, not in the pardoning bull, or box of indulgences, nor in the martyrs' blood. Yea, Paul himself denieth that either he, or Peter, or any other of the saints was crucified for the church of God. And yet their indulgences were so set forth, as though God were pleased with us for the blood of the martyrs. Therefore their indulgences are flatly contrary to the apostles' doctrine. And I admonished you in my sermon of good works[2] in these words of Paul, "I fulfil that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ in my flesh for his body's sake, which is the church;" that that fulfilling is not referred to the work of the purging or propitiation of Christ, which is consummate, unless Christ at his death did testify falsely, saying, "It is consummate;" but to those afflictions wherewith the members of Christ, that is, the faithful, are exercised by the cross so long as they live in this frail flesh. Verily the Lord maketh account of the afflictions laid upon the faithful, as of his own: for to Paul he said, "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?" Moreover, when he saith, "For the church," he meaneth not, for the expiation of the church, but for the edification and profit of the same[3]. And Paul sustained

[Acts ix. 4.]

[1 clavium potestatem, Lat.; power of the keys.]

[2 See Vol. II. page 333.]

[3 Calvin's words, Instit. Lib. III. cap. 5. § 4. Foxe, Acts and Mon. Vol. v. p. 611. Lond. 1838.]

grievous afflictions at the hands of the Jews because he preached the gospel to the Gentiles: and it was expedient that in him there should be shewed to the church an example of patience so rare as could not lightly be found again. Yea, other have oftentimes objected against these indulgence-defenders this godly saying of the holy man, pope Leo, in his eighty-first epistle: "Although the death of many saints is precious in the sight of the Lord, yet the slaughter of no man subject to sin is the propitiation for the sins of the world." Again, "The righteous have received, not given, crowns of glory: and of the manful constancy of the martyrs are sprung examples of patience, not the gifts of righteousness: for their deaths were singular; neither did any one by his ending pay the debt of another, since there is one Lord Jesus Christ, in whom they are all crucified, dead, buried and raised up again[4]." Thus much out of pope Leo. We have therefore by divine and human testimonies evidently proved, that the indulgences given to sinners by the merit or treasure of the martyrs' blood are mere blasphemies against God, and open injuries against his holy martyrs.

The holy saints' suffering is not our redemption.

I have hitherto spoken of those indulgences which were of old freely bestowed by the popes of Rome[5], although at this day they be few in number and curtailed too: now therefore I will say somewhat of their indulgences, which they for the most part do sell and make traffic of. To sell indulgences in the church of God is a sin so detestable, as that it is hard to name any one more horrible. And yet it is and hath been a common practice and merchandise[6] these many years with the bishops of Rome and their factors, whom they call apostolics, not having any word in the scripture wherewith to cloak that

The filthy mart of indulgences.

[4 Quamvis enim multorum sanctorum in conspectu Domini pretiosa mors fuerit, nullius tamen insontis (Bullinger has *sontis*) occisio propitiatio fuit mundi. Acceperunt justi, non dederunt, coronas: et de fortitudine fidelium exempla nata sunt patientiæ, non dona justitiæ. Singulares quippe in singulis mortes fuerunt; nec alterius quispiam debitum suo fine persolvit, cum inter filios hominum unus solus Dominus noster Jesus Christus extiterit, in quo omnes crucifixi, omnes mortui, omnes sepulti, omnes etiam sunt suscitati.—Leon. Opp. Ep. LXXXIII. ad Palæst. Episc. p. 152. The same is repeated in Ep. XCVII. ad Leon. Aug. cap. 2. pp. 171, 172, and Serm. XII. p. 59. Par. 1662.]

[5 of Rome, not in Lat.] [6 and merchandise, not in Lat.]

wicked invention. And now, though I slip over and do not shew how indulgences are nothing but a bare name without any stuff or matter, and that under that vain name miserable men and silly souls are foully deceived; yet note, that Christ, the chief and only high priest of his catholic and holy church, in the days of his flesh did with a whip drive the buyers and sellers (as impudent dogs) out of the church[1] of God: which thing he did twice; once at the beginning of his preaching, and another time a little before his passion[2]. At the first time he added: "Away with these things from hence, and make not my Father's house an house of merchandise." At the latter time he said: "It is written, My house shall be called the house of prayer; but ye have made it a den of thieves." And Simon Magus also, in the Acts of the Apostles, seeing that by the laying on of the apostles' hands the Holy Ghost was given, did offer them money, saying: "Give me this power also, that on whomsoever I lay my hands, he may receive the Holy Ghost." But hearken how Peter accepteth his petition. "Thy money (said he) perish with thee; because thou hast thought that the gift of God may be obtained with money. Thou hast neither part nor fellowship in this business; for thy heart is not right in the sight of God." Lo, the gifts of God are not gotten with money. Lo, their heart is not right that make merchandise of religion[3]. Lo, they have no part or fellowship in the inheritance of the kingdom of heaven, or in the preaching of the glad tidings[4]. Therefore what shall we say now of the indulgences which the pope's apostolics do set to sale for money? What shall we say of the very indulgenciaries, and the pope himself, whose hirelings they be? We must confess, verily, that they are the fellows of Simon (not Peter, but) Magus: for Peter did by the just sentence of God curse such kind of merchants: "Your money (saith he) perish together with you." This is a heavy and terrible, but yet a most just judgment of the most just God. The same apostle Peter, foreseeing that in the church there would be many such merchants, doth in his last epistle say: "There were false prophets among the people,

[John ii. 13—16; Matt. xxi. 12, 13.]

[Acts viii. 18—21.]

[2 Pet. ii. 1—3.]

[1 e templo, Lat.]
[2 Rather, nearly at the end, i. e. of his ministry.]
[3 in rebus religionis, Lat.]
[4 vel in evangelica ratione, Lat.]

even as there shall be false teachers among you, which privily bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that hath bought them, and bring upon themselves swift damnation. And many shall follow their damnable ways, by whom the way of truth shall be evil spoken of. And with covetousness through feigned words shall they make merchandise of you." For what is it with feigned words through covetousness to make merchandise[5] of the miserable idiots[6], if this is not, when they say that they do give full remission of sins unto all them that are contrite, and do confess their sins? For if any man do acknowledge his sins, and with a true faith convert[7] himself to God through Christ, even without their indulgences he doth obtain plenary remission of all his sins. Those foxes therefore make money of smoke, deceiving simple souls[8], and selling for coin the thing which they never had, neither possibly can be purchased with money.

And thus much hitherto of bought and sold indulgences; of which other writers have made very long discourses. I suppose that by this little any man may easily understand how to judge of them aright.

We are now at length come past those rocks and shelves to which we did of purpose sail, that, when we had viewed the most perilous places, we might admonish the unskilful passengers to take heed how they strike upon them for making shipwreck of their souls, by thinking that in these indulgences doth lie the true force of sufficient repentance; wherein there is nothing but the utter displeasing of God's most holy majesty. Therefore letting that alone as it is, we do now return to declare the last members of repentance, whereby we said that penitents do mortify the old man, and are renewed spiritually.

First of all therefore, it seemeth good to tell, What the old man is, What the new or regenerated man is, and What the power or strength of man is: for by the demonstration thereof we shall the better understand what it is to mortify the old man, and to be renewed in the spirit.

[5 lucrumque facere, Lat. omitted; and to make gain.]

[6 ex misera plebecula, Lat. Cf. Vol. I. p. 71, note 3.]

[7 convertatur, Lat.]

[8 fucum faciunt simplicibus versutissimi, Lat. Cf. Erasm. Chiliad. Adag. p. 305, *imposturæ*.]

The old and new man.

We say that the old man is all that which we have of nature, or of our first parents, to wit, not the body only or the flesh, I mean the grosser and substantial part of the body; but even the very soul, with the strength, the power and faculties of the same. Therefore, whereas in some places of the holy scriptures the flesh is put for man, we must not only understand the massy substance and grosser part of the body; but the very flesh together with the soul and all the faculties thereof, that is, the whole man not yet regenerate. For the [John iii. 6.] Lord in the gospel saith: "That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the spirit is spirit." And this he speaketh concerning regeneration, which is not according to the flesh (as Nicodemus did falsely imagine), but according to the spirit. The word "flesh" therefore doth import[1] the natural power and faculties[2] of man; even all that, I mean, which we have or take of our first grandsire Adam. The new man is said to be he that is regenerate by the Spirit of God in Christ, or is renewed according to the image of Christ, with all the gifts and virtues of the Holy Ghost. And as the flesh is usually put for the old man, so[3] is the spirit by an antithesis commonly used and taken for the new man.

The flesh taken in scripture for the old man.

Now here the very place requireth to discourse somewhat of the power and virtues of man: of which although I have elsewhere disputed already, as in the sermon of freedom and bondage, and of sin[4], yet again I will touch such points as I think to suffice for this present argument.

Of the power of man.

There are two parts or faculties of our soul, understanding and will. Understanding doth discern in things object, what to receive or what to refuse; and is as it were the light and guide of the soul. Will chooseth, for in it doth lie both to will and to nill: which are again impelled by other powers and faculties. Now the understanding is of two sorts; for we understand either earthly or heavenly things. I call those earthly things, which do appertain not to the life to come, but to the life present: whereunto we refer all liberal arts and handicrafts, the governing of public weals,

Understanding.

[1 comprehendit, Lat.]

[2 naturalis animæ, Lat.; the powers and faculties of the natural soul.]

[3 and as—so, not in Lat.]

[4 See Sermons 9, 10. of the Third Decade.]

and the ruling of private houses. By heavenly things I understand God himself, eternal felicity, and life everlasting, the knowledge of God and all kinds of virtues, faith, hope, charity, righteousness, holiness, and innocency of life.

Now let us see what this understanding of man is able to do, and what power it hath. The judgment and understanding of man in earthly things is not altogether none at all: but yet it is weak and very small, God wot. The understanding therefore that is in man doth come of God: but in that it is small and weak, that cometh of man's own fault and corruption. But the bountiful Lord doth augment in men those gifts of his; whereby it cometh that man's wit bringeth wonderful things to pass. For which cause we read in the holy scriptures, that the arts and wits of men are in the hands of God. But in the knowledge or understanding of heavenly matters there is not one small spark of light in man: his wit of itself is nothing but darkness, which at the beginning was created by God most sharp and lightsome, but was afterwards by man's[5] corruption utterly rebated[6] and darkened again. For therefore it is that Christ in the gospel said: "No man cometh to me, unless my Father draw him." And in the Prophets it is written: "All shall be taught by God." [John vi. 44, 45.] And Paul saith: "The natural man perceiveth not the things that are of the Spirit of God; for they are foolishness unto him; neither can know, because they are spiritually discerned." [1 Cor. ii. 14.] The natural man (that is, that old man which is not yet regenerate by the Holy Ghost) is not a block altogether without all sense or feeling: for if he were utterly without all the discourses of reason, then how should the preaching of the gospel seem foolishness unto him? He doth therefore by the gift of God hear and understand the words and sense of the holy scripture; but by reason of his natural corruption he is not touched with them, he doth not rightly judge of them: they seem mere folly unto him: neither doth he perceive that they must be discerned spiritually, because he is not regenerate, and is yet without the true light of God's most holy Spirit. For in another place the apostle saith: "We are not able to think any good[7] as of ourselves, but all our ability is of God." And therefore it is that we

[5 parentis nostri, Lat.] [6 rebated: blunted. Johnson.]
[7 2 Cor. iii. 5; good, not in Lat.]

do so often in the scriptures find mention of enlightening or illumination: which should without cause be expressed or named, if so be man's understanding were clear, and of itself not dark and misty. There is therefore born together with all men a blindness of heart and mind, a doubting in the promises of God, and an unbelief and perverse[1] judgment in all heavenly things. For albeit that man hath at God's hand received understanding, yet by reason of his own corruption ignorance is a peculiar and proper heritage belonging unto him. For he is then in his[2] kingdom, when he is blind, when he doth err, when he doth doubt, when he doth not believe, nor use the gifts that God hath given him rightly, as he should, that is, to his own salvation and the glory of his Maker[3].

Let us now see what the will of the old man is able to do. Therefore, since this will doth follow a blind guide, God wot, that is to say, corrupt[4] affection, it is unknown to no man what foolish[5] choice it maketh, and whereunto it tendeth. And although the understanding be never so true and good, yet is the will like to a ship tossed to and fro with stormy tempests, that is, of affections. For it walloweth[6] up and down with hope, fear, lust, sorrow, and anger, so that it chooseth and followeth nothing but evil. For the holy apostle speaking of himself doth say: "I know that in me, that is, in my flesh, there dwelleth no good thing. For to will is present with me, but I find no means to perform that which is good. For the good that I would, do I not: but the evil which I would not, that do I." But now, since the apostle spake this of himself when he was regenerate, what, I pray you, shall we say of the will of the old man? The old man willeth all things which God willeth not, and, breaking into all kind of wickedness, doth foully fulfil his filthy lusts: that is to say, he giveth his members servants unto uncleanness and wickedness, from one iniquity unto another. We have of this very many examples exhibited unto us, both by the holy scriptures and daily experience.

[Rom. vii. 18, 19.]

Of the new man, and of regeneration.

Let us now against this oppose or set the new man, that is, the man which is regenerate by the Spirit of God through

[1 perversissimum, Lat.] [2 suo, Lat.; his own.]
[3 Dei, Lat.] [4 corruptissimum, Lat.]
[5 foolish, not in Lat.] [6 raptatur, Lat.]

the faith of Jesus Christ. Now regeneration is the renewing of the man, by which through the faith of[7] Jesus Christ, we, which were the sons of Adam and of wrath, are born again the sons of God, and do therefore put off[8] the old man, and put on the new, which both in understanding and will doth freely serve the Lord. This regeneration is the renewing of the mind, not of the body: as we heard in another place, out of the third chapter of St John's gospel[9]. The author of this regeneration is the Holy Ghost, which is from heaven given unto man, I mean, to a faithful man. For the gift of the Holy Ghost is given for Christ his sake, and that too unto none but those that do believe in Christ. This Spirit of God doth testify with our spirit that we are the sons of God, and therefore the heirs of his kingdom. We are therefore a new creature, repaired now according to the image of God, and endued with a new nature or disposition: whereby it cometh to pass, that we do daily put off that old man, and put on the new: which thing is done when we walk[10], not in concupiscence, after the carnal inclination[11] of the flesh, but in newness of sense, according to the working of the Holy Ghost by whom we are regenerate. The same substance and form of the body abideth still; the mind is changed, the understanding and will renewed. For by the Spirit of God the understanding is illuminated, faith and the understanding of God and heavenly things is plenteously bestowed, and by it unbelief and ignorance, that is, the darkness of the old man, are utterly expelled, according to that saying of the apostle, "Through Christ ye are made rich in all things, in all speech and knowledge:" again, "We have not received the spirit of the world, but the spirit which is of God, to know what things are given of Christ to us." And again, "We have (or know the spirit or)[12] mind of Christ." And again, "Ye have no need that any man teach you: but as the very anointing doth instruct you of all things, and is true, abide ye in it[13]."

[Rom. vii. 16, 17.]

[1 Cor. i. 5; ii. 12, 16.]

And in this regeneration of man the will also doth receive

[7 per Spiritum sanctum in fide J. C., Lat.; through the Holy Spirit in the faith of.]

[8 in diem, Lat. omitted; day by day.]

[9 See above, p. 37.] [10 dum ambulamus, Lat.]

[11 pro ingenio, Lat.]

[12 The parenthesis is the translator's.]

[13 1 John ii. 27, in ea, Lat. and Erasmus; in it, Marg. Auth. Ver.]

PACIFIC SCHOOL OF RELIGION

an heavenly virtue, to do the good which the understanding perceived by the Holy Ghost: so that it willeth, chooseth, and worketh the good that the Lord hath shewed it; and on the other side nilleth, hateth, and repelleth the evil that the Lord hath forbidden it. For Paul saith: "I know to be humble, and I know to exceed. I can do all things through Christ who strengtheneth me[1]." And again to the Philippians he saith: "To you it is given for Christ, not only to believe in him, but also to suffer for him." And again yet he doth more plainly say: "It is God that worketh in you both to will and to perform, according to the good purpose of the mind[2]." But now note this, that whatsoever they do which are regenerate by the Spirit of God, they do it freely, not by compulsion, nor against their wills. For like as God requireth a cheerful giver; so "where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is free liberty and hearty good-will[3]." And Zachary, the father of John Baptist, said: "That we, being delivered from the hands of our enemies, might serve him without fear, in holiness and righteousness before him all the days of our life." Yea, and our Lord himself in the gospel saith: "If ye abide in my sayings, ye shall be my disciples indeed, and ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." And again: "If the Son set you at liberty, or make you free, then shall ye be free indeed." Touching this liberty of the sons of God I have already discoursed in the ninth sermon of my third Decade.

[Luke i. 74, 75.]

[John viii. 31, 32, 36.]

What, and of what kind, the liberty is that is in man.

This liberty of the sons of God we do willingly acknowledge and freely confess: but the arrogant disputations of some blasphemous praters[4] concerning free-will, as though it were in our power of ourselves to do any heavenly thing, we do utterly reject and flatly deny. And yet we do not make man subject to fatal necessity, nor turn upon God the blame of iniquity, as we have elsewhere more at large declared[5]. And St Augustine in his controversy with the Pelagians did so attemper his disputation, that he attributed the good to the grace of God, and the evil unto our nature: so that, the sense being sound, uncorrupted, and well weighed, he attributeth

[1 Phil. iv. 12. excellere, Lat. and Erasmus; excede, Tyndale, 1534.]
[2 Phil. i. 29; ii. 13. See above, p. 323, note 6.]
[3 2 Cor. iii. 17, and hearty good-will, not in Lat.]
[4 blasphemous praters, not in Lat.] [5 See Decade III. Serm. 10.]

free-will, which he granteth to be in us, unto the grace that worketh in us, yea, to the regeneration of the Spirit, rather than to ourselves or our own power.

I will here cite and rehearse unto you, dearly beloved, this one testimony only out of all his writings, as it is to be found in the first chapter of his book *De Correptione et Gratia*, where he saith: "We must confess that we have free-will to do both evil and good: but in the doing of evil every one is free from righteousness, and bound to sin; but in good no man can be free, unless he be made free by him which said, 'If the Son make you free, then shall ye be free indeed.' And yet not so that, when every one is set free from the condemnation of sin, he should then no more stand in need of his deliverer's aid: but so rather, that, where he heareth his deliverer say, 'Without me ye can do nothing,' he should presently say to him again, 'Be thou my helper; O forsake me not.' And verily, I am glad that in our brother Florus I found this faith, which, without doubt, is the true, prophetical, and apostolical faith. For here must the grace of God through Jesus Christ our Lord be needs understood; by which alone we men are delivered from evil, and without which we do no good, either in thought, will, love, or deed: not only that by the shewing, or teaching of grace, men should no more but know what is to be done; but also, that by the very working and performing of grace they should with love do the thing that they know[6]." And so forth. For I have hitherto rehearsed unto you St Augustine's opinion

[6 Liberum itaque arbitrium et ad malum et ad bonum faciendum confitendum est nos habere: sed in malo faciendo liber est quisque justitiæ, servusque peccati; in bono autem liber esse nullus potest, nisi fuerit liberatus ab eo qui dixit, Si vos Filius liberaverit, tunc vere liberi eritis. Nec ita ut cum quisque fuerit a peccati damnatione liberatus, jam non indigeat sui liberatoris auxilio; sed ita potius ut ab illo audiens, Sine me nihil potestis facere, dicat ei et ipse, Adjutor meus esto, ne derelinquas me. Hanc fidem, quæ sine dubio vera et prophetica et apostolica fides est, etiam in fratre nostro Floro invenisse me gaudeo. Intelligenda est enim gratia Dei per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum, qua sola homines liberantur a malo, et sine qua nullum prorsus sive cogitando, sive volendo et amando, sive agendo faciunt bonum: non solum ut monstrante ipsa quid faciendum sit sciant, verum etiam ut præstante ipsa faciant cum dilectione quod sciunt.—August. Opp. Tom. VII. fol. 272. col. 2. Par. 1531.]

touching free-will, of which this is sufficient for a note by the way: now I return to my purpose again.

How the old man is mortified, and renewed by the Spirit.

We have heard what the old man is, what the new man is, and how we are renewed by the Holy Spirit: now therefore, when we say that penitents do mortify the old man, and are renewed by the Spirit, or spiritually, we say nothing else but that to all penitents the affections, senses or lusts, of the flesh (I mean, even the very understanding which we have of the old Adam, together with the will,) are not only suspected, but also convicted of impiety; and that therefore[1] in all their thoughts, words, and deeds, they do never admit their affections into their counsel, but do by all means resist them, and continually study to break the neck of them: and on the other side, in all our counsels, words, and deeds to admit and receive, yea, and with prayers to call unto us, that heavenly guide, the Spirit of Christ, by whose conduct and leading we may perceive, judge, speak, and work, that is to say, either omit or do, that which we have learned in our grand pattern Christ, according to whose likeness we must be reformed, that henceforth we may apply ourselves to holiness, righteousness, and good works to God-ward[2].

But now all this we shall understand more rightly and plainly by the words of the apostle, where he saith: "This I say, and testify in the Lord[3], that ye henceforth walk not as other Gentiles walk, in vanity of their mind, darkened in cogitation, being alienated from the life of God by the ignorance that is in them, by the blindness of their hearts; which being past feeling have given themselves over unto wantonness, to work all uncleanness with greediness. But ye have not so learned Christ, if so be ye have heard him, and have been taught in him, as the truth is in Jesus; to lay down, according to the former conversation, the old man, which is corrupt according to the lusts of error, but to be renewed in the spirit of your mind; and to put on that new man, which after God is shapen in righteousness and holiness of truth:" and so forth, as followeth in the fourth chapter to the Ephesians[4]. The same apostle in the third to the Colossians saith: "Mortify your members which

[1 in gerendis rebus, Lat. omitted; in all their transactions.]
[2 beneficentiæque, Lat.; to God-ward, not in Lat.]
[3 per Dominum, Lat. and Erasmus.]
[4 verses 17—24, holiness of truth, Marg. Auth. Ver.]

are upon the earth; fornication, uncleanness, inordinate affection[5], evil concupiscence, and covetousness, which is idolatry; for which things' sake the wrath of God cometh upon the children of disobedience: among whom ye also walked sometime, when ye lived in them. But now put ye off also all these things, wrath, fierceness, maliciousness, blasphemy, filthy communication out of your mouth: lie not one to another, seeing that ye have put off the old man with his works; and have put on the new man, which is renewed into the knowledge and image of him that made him. Put on therefore, as the elect of God, holy and beloved, bowels of mercy, kindness, modesty, meekness, long-suffering; forbearing one another, and forgiving one another, if any man have a quarrel against any:" and so forth. To which if thou addest that which the apostle hath of the same matter in the sixth chapter to the Romans, every point will be more express and plain unto the hearer.

Of the worthy fruits, or of the fruits worthy of repentance.

Now these words of the apostle do not only teach us what the old man is, what the new man is, what it is to mortify the old man, and how penitents are renewed in the newness of the spirit, or of the mind; but do also shew what the fruits be that are worthy of repentance, to wit, those rehearsed virtues, or those offices of life toward God and our neighbour. We owe to God fear and[6] reverence, humbleness of mind, the knowledge[7] of ourselves, faith, hope, the hatred of sin, the love of righteousness; charity towards our neighbour[8], well-doing towards all men[9], and innocency in all things. These kind of fruits did the holy man John Baptist require of the Jewish nation, when he said: "Bring forth fruits that become repentance." For in St Luke, being demanded of the people, of the publicans, and of the mercenary or garrison soldiers[10], what thing they should do worthy of repentance, he prescribeth none other than that which we even now recited. For the Lord himself by Esay, in the fifth chapter of his prophecy, rehearsed up none other fruits than those. And in the reve-

[Luke iii. 10, &c.]

[5 mollitiem, Lat. and Erasmus; unnatural lust, Tyndale 1534, and Cranmer 1539.]

[6 sive, Lat.; or.] [7 agnitionem, Lat.]

[8 Rather, to our neighbour (we owe), &c.]

[9 towards all men, not in Lat.]

[10 a satellitibus vel stipendiariis, Lat. In his Comment. in loc. cit. Bullinger explains at length what soldiers these were.]

lation[1] made to St John, speaking to the minister of the church of Ephesus, he saith: "Remember from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the first works." Whereunto agree the words of St Paul, speaking to Agrippa, and saying: [Acts xxvi. 20.] "I have preached to the Jews and Gentiles, exhorting them to repent, and to turn to God, and to do such works as become them that repent." And again, in the seventh chapter of the second epistle to the Corinthians, he saith: [2 Cor. 10, 11.] "Sorrow which is to God-ward causeth repentance unto salvation not to be repented of. For, behold, this self-same thing that ye were made sorry to God-ward, how much carefulness it hath wrought in you; yea, what clearing of yourselves; yea, what indignation; yea, what fear; yea, what vehement desire; yea, what zeal; yea, what punishment[2]!" Now this carefulness is an intentive diligence to correct that which is amiss. Verily, out of careless looseness doth arise inured custom to commit sin, and negligent security. Penitents do not stand in defence of their sins, but make their supplicant apology to God, to have them remitted. Hypocrites excuse themselves, and seek out shifts and starting holes, not confessing freely their sins and offences, nor praying to God to have them forgiven. He which repenteth truly and in very deed is angry with himself because of his wicked manners and life already lewdly spent. The punishment which he doth exercise upon himself[3] preventeth and turneth away the revenging and imminent wrath of God. Moreover with fear he doth take heed how he sinneth any more: for the contempt of God is the original of mischiefs, and bond of an impenitent life. Furthermore, he which doth truly repent is ravished with the passing vehement desire or love of God and heavenly things: he burneth with zeal, whereby it cometh to pass that he neither foadeth[4] off from day to day, nor yet doth coldly nor slackly go about, that which he hath learned by the word of God to be required at his hand to be done and performed. Briefly, whatsoever he doth he doth it with all his mind, even from the very bottom and root of his heart. For so saith the great [Deut. xxx. 2, 3.] prophet of God, the holy man Moses: "If thou wilt turn to

[1 revelatione sua, Lat.; his revelation. chap. ii. 5.]
[2 So Tyndale 1534, and Cranmer 1539.]
[3 affligendo semetipsum, Lat. omitted; by afflicting himself.]
[4 foadeth off. See Vol. II. page 38, note 3.]

the Lord thy God, and hearken unto his voice, with all thy heart, and with all thy soul; the Lord thy God also shall turn thy captivity, and shew pity upon thee in the bowels of mercy." Thus much touching the fruits of repentance.

Repentance is a work not of a day or twain, but of all our life.

Now upon all the premises we infer this consequent, that repentance (whose only scope, whereto it tendeth[5], is the renovation by the Spirit of Christ of the image of God, which was by Adam's fall of old defiled) is not a work of a day or twain, or of a prescribed number of years, but a continual observance of our whole life, and so consequently a daily putting off and renewing of the old man for ever[6]. For they that are regenerate by the Holy Spirit of God are never so purged that they feel no motions of the flesh, of sin, and of carnal affections. There is always object to the eyes of the faithful this sentence of St Paul, that cannot by any means be plucked out of their minds: "I know that in me, that is, in my flesh, there dwelleth no good thing. For to will is present with me, but I find no means to perform that which is good. For the good, that I would, I do not; but the evil, that I would not, that do I." For we bear about the relics of the flesh through all our life. Whereupon it cometh that in the saints there is a perpetual and very sharp battle. For they do partly obey the spirit, and are partly weakened of the flesh: by the spirit they are lifted up to the contemplation and desire of heavenly things; but by the flesh they are thrust down to earthly things, and troubled with the allurements of this naughty world. For even the apostle, feeling that combat in himself, said: "The flesh lusteth contrary to the spirit, and the spirit contrary to the flesh. For they are so at enemity betwixt themselves, that what ye would ye cannot do." And in another place he saith: "Even I, the same, do in the mind serve the law of God, but in the flesh the law of sin." And, to help the matter forward withal, there lacks no deceit, no craft, and a thousand[7] temptations of the subtle crafts-master, our enemy the devil. Therefore the labour and peril of the true penitent, that is, of a christian man, is far greater than that our prayers are comparable unto it.

[Rom. vii. 18, 19.]

[Gal. v. 17.]

[Rom. vii. 25.]

But now who doth not here perceive how great watching,

[5 in nobis, Lat. omitted; in us.]

[6 adeoque innovationem quotidianam, is all Bullinger says.]

[7 incessabiles, Lat. omitted; endless.]

What things are necessary in penitents.

abstinence, constancy[1], fortitude, and patience, are needful for those that do repent? what great need they have of earnest and continual prayers? Let us in this sharp conflict lay before our eyes the instruction of that valiant champion the apostle Paul; for that which he saith may be to us instead of a large and ample commentary. For he will in few words passingly instruct us how to behave ourselves in this troublesome combat, how to vanquish, and how to triumph when the victory is gotten. In his epistle to the Ephesians thus he saith: "Brethren, be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might. Put on all the armour of God, that ye may stand against the assaults of the devil. For we wrestle not against flesh and blood only, but against rules, against powers, against worldly governors[2] of the darkness of this world, against spiritual subtilties in heavenly things. Wherefore take unto you the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to resist in the evil day, and, having finished all things, to stand fast. Stand therefore, having your loins girt about with the truth, and having on the breast-plate of righteousness, and your feet shod in the preparation of the gospel of peace: above all, taking the shield of faith, wherewith you may quench all the fiery darts of the wicked: and take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God; praying always in all prayer and supplication in the Spirit, and watching for the same with all instance." And so as followeth in the sixth to the Ephesians.

The outward exercises of repentance.

Here therefore are also to be rehearsed the outward exercises of repentance or rites of penance, wherewith the saints do exercise themselves, partly to tame and keep under the motions of flesh, and partly to testify their repentance unto the congregation. Those exercises are, carelessness of the flesh, tears, sighs, sackcloth, fastings, weeping, lamenting, neglecting and hatred of dainty diet, trimming of the body, and also of allowable pleasures: which, although they be done, and yet do not proceed from the very heart and from true faith, are notwithstanding nothing available to him that useth them. But it is best here to learn, and as it were in a painted table to behold them pictured in the word[3] of God.

Joel [ii. 12–17.]

The prophet Joel saith: "Turn ye to me, saith the Lord,

[1 assiduitate, Lat.] [2 rectores, Lat. omitted; rulers of.]
[3 in verbo sincero, Lat.]

with all your hearts, with fasting, with weeping, and with mourning: and rent your hearts, and not your garments, and turn to the Lord your God; for he is gracious and merciful, slow to anger, and of great goodness, and he will repent him of the evil. Who knoweth whether the Lord[4] will return and take compassion, and will leave behind him a blessing? Blow up a trumpet in Sion, proclaim fast, call an assembly, sanctify the congregation, gather the people, gather the elders, assemble the children and sucking babes. Let the bridegroom come forth of his chamber, and the bride out of her closet. Let the priests, the Lord's ministers, weep betwixt the porch and the altar, and let them say: Spare thy people, O Lord, and give not over thine heritage unto reproach, that the heathen should rule over them. Wherefore should they among the heathen say, Where is their God?" To these divine and evident precepts let us annex that notable example of the truly repentant Ninivites out of the holy scriptures; of whom the holy prophet Jonas hath left this in writing: "The men of Ninive believed God, and proclaimed a fast, and put on sackcloth from the greatest of them unto the least of them. And word come to the king of Ninive, which arose from his throne, and put off his robe, and covered himself in sackcloth, and sat down in the ashes." Moreover by the king's commandment proclamation was made throughout the whole city, saying: "Let neither man nor beast[5] taste anything, neither feed, nor yet drink water: but let both man and beast put on sackcloth, and cry mightily unto God; yea, let every man turn from his evil way[6], and from the wickedness that is in his hands. Who can tell whether God will turn, and be moved with repentance, and turn from his fierce wrath, that we perish not?" And now it is good to hear how effectual true repentance is in the sight of the Lord. Therefore it followeth in the same chapter: "And God saw their works, that they turned from their evil ways, and he repented of the evil which he said he would do to them, and did it not." Jonah [iii. 5—10.]

And here also, dearly beloved, ye must note, that repentance is of two sorts, to wit, private or secret, and public or manifest. Every one doth secretly to himself repent Private and public repentance.

[4 the Lord, not in Lat.]
[5 neque greges, Lat. omitted; nor flocks.]
[6 et a violentia et injuria, Lat.]

privately, so often as, when he hath sinned against God, he doth descend into himself, and with the candle of God's word doth search all the corners of his heart, and confess to God all his offences; being grieved that he hath offended him, and yet doth turn unto him, believing verily that he will be reconciled unto him in Christ his Saviour; and for his sake doth utterly hate sin, and entirely love righteousness and innocency, in following them so near as he can[1]. The public or solemn repentance is used in great calamities, in dearth, in pestilence and war: and of that repentance it is that the prophet Joel speaketh, whose words ye heard a little afore. And yet private repentance is in many points all one with the public. For Peter weepeth bitterly; and private penitents do fast privately, and abstain severely even from all allowed pleasures, much more then from the allurements and baits of the world[2]. But they that do truly repent either publicly or privately, both do and must specially hate coloured hypocrisy and vain ostentation. Moreover, both kinds of repentance are free and voluntary, not extorted or coacted, but proceeding of a willing mind. The pastor of the church and teacher of the truth, I confess, doth severely call upon all sinners without delay to repent themselves truly for their sins committed: but yet he doth by express law lay upon no man's neck any precise order, prescribing the time, manner, place, or number; but leaveth it free to every one's choice, so that they do the thing that is decent, according to the prescript rule in the word of God. But public repentance is for the most part wont to be proclaimed, and openly received of the whole congregation, so often as piety requireth it, and necessity compelleth it; and doth out of the word of God therewithal declare what and how all things must be done and decently ordered.

Repentance must be voluntary, not coacted.

Again, it is manifest that there are two sorts of repentance more: for there is true repentance and false repentance. The true repentance is that which he doth exercise that is regenerate by the Spirit of God[3]; and is without all colour and craft, containing in it all those things that I have hitherto told you of. The scriptures contained in the old

False and true repentance.

[1 in following—he can, not in Lat.]

[2 carnis ac mundi, Lat.; of the flesh and of the world.]

[3 in fide Jesu Christi, Lat. omitted; in the faith of Jesus Christ.]

and new Testament do minister to us many examples of true repentance, which I have at large laid forth unto you in that that I have already spoken. Those examples are excellent, which we find of our parents Adam and Evah, of the people of Israel's often repenting[4] in the thirty-third of Exodus, in the book of Judges, and the books of Kings. Yet more excellent than the rest is that of David in the twelfth chapter of the second of Samuel, and i. Par. 21; and that of Manasses and Josias, ii. Reg. xxxiii. and xxxiv. In the gospel also we have to see the examples of Matthew, Zacheus, the sinful woman, and Peter; beside other more that here for shortness' sake I do wittingly pass over. [1 Chron. xxi.]

But false or counterfeit repentance proceedeth of a feigned heart: and though at a blush it seem to have the circumstances of true repentance, yet for because it wanteth a turning to God and a sound confidence in him, it is unsincere and utterly false. For of all other it is most certain, that the repentance of Judas Iscariot was false and counterfeit: and yet he confessed his sin, he bare record to the truth, and did with much anger and sorrow restore to the priests the price which he took for the innocent blood; but because he did not wholly turn to Christ and put his whole confidence in his mercy and goodness, all his repentance was without all fruit. And without all profit do hypocrites, and those that are without the faith of the gospel, torment themselves, and make a shew of outward repentance.

True penitents are in an happy case.

But they are most happy and in an heavenly case[5], that do with all their hearts truly repent with faith unfeigned: for they receive infinite goodness of their most bountiful and liberal God, who is at one again with penitents, and doth now love them that before he did for their sins most heartily, and yet most justly, hate and abhor. The punishments also, which he determined to lay upon them, he turneth into benefits: for he doth fill, and as it were load[6] penitents with all manner of good things, both temporal and eternal. Now ye understand, dearly beloved, by my former sermons, that God bestoweth so great benefits upon us, not for our works of repentance, but for Christ his sake, in whom alone the saints do trust, not putting any confidence in their works

[4 often repenting, not in Lat.]
[5 and in—case, not in Lat.] [6 and—load, not in Lat.]

of repentance, how holy and commendable soever they be. For insomuch as the Father loveth Christ, and that we by faith are graffed in him, God doth therefore love us, and our works do please him; which works of ours when he doth recompense, he crowneth not our works, as our own works, but crowneth in us the grace which he himself hath given us[1].

Unrepentants are unhappy.

Again, it must needs be that unrepentants are most unhappy. They hear with what sins and transgressions they have offended God, and provoked his just vengeance against themselves; but therewithal they think not how to prevent the wrath of God being readily imminent to take vengeance of them[2], nor how to obtain his favour again. What else therefore doth remain behind for them, but a most certain and just destruction both of body and soul, of all their goods, and whatsoever things else they do most esteem in this transitory life? It is good here to call to mind that notable sentence of the Lord Jesus in the gospel, saying: [Matt. xi. 21, &c.] "Woe be to thee, Chorazin; woe be to thee, Bethsaida: for if the wonders had been done in the city of Tyre and Sidon, that have been done in you, they would have repented long ere this in sackcloth and ashes. But I say unto you, it shall be easier for Tyre, Sidon, and Sodoma in the day of [Matt. xxi. 19, &c.] judgment, than for you." The parable[3] of the unfruitful fig-tree is known to all men, whereof mention is made in the gospel, which withered up by the judgment of God, to be an example to teach and terrify all impenitent sinners. What shall fall, may we think, upon the men of these days, that do so boldly despise repentance now so many years so plainly preached unto them, and beaten into their heads[4]? Some there are, a God's name[5], that will outwardly for a shew's sake only seem to be desirous of the evangelical truth: other are utter enemies, contemners, and persecutors of the gospel: and an infinite rabble thou shalt find of Lucianists, Epicures, Nullifidians[6], and Atheists. Now since all

[1 gratiam suam in nobis coronat, is all Bullinger says.]

[2 sontibus, Lat. omitted; that are guilty.]

[3 The parable, not in Lat. Bullinger says, Notissima est omnibus arbor ficus infrugifera.]

[4 and—heads, not in Lat.] [5 a God's name, not in Lat.]

[6 Nullifidians, not in Lat. Cf. Becon, ed. Park. Soc. Vol. III. pp. 401, 503: and for Lucian, see Abp. Grindal's Works, ed. Parker Soc. p. 8.]

these do equally in a manner sweetly deride, or rather scoffingly mock at, this hearty repentance, we cannot do otherwise but still expect and look when the terrible judgment of God's mighty arm should fall upon such unrepentant sinners. Let them that wish well to themselves speedily turn to the Lord, and consider with themselves continually and earnestly how great the damage is, to keep the transitory joys of this present life, and so to lose the eternal joys of the kingdom of heaven. Let every one make haste to do that which he perceiveth to be done the better by so much, by how much the sooner it is taken in hand.

Let not repentance be deferred.

And yet I would not that any man should despair in his sins, if so be that he doth not stubbornly despise the remedy of repentance; nor because of the facility and gentleness of his heavenly Father doth not maliciously, by the way of contempt, defer repentance even till the very end. And if any man be hindered by the flesh, the world, and the devil, so that it be late or ere he apply his mind to repentance, neither would I have him to fall to desperation.

But now, because I have somewhat more long drawn out this discourse of repentance than I had thought to have done, that I may here at last make an end of my sermon, I will instead of a conclusion recite unto you these golden words of the holy martyr St Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, where he writeth against Demetrian to this effect following: "Believe and live; and ye, that now for a time do persecute us, rejoice with us for ever. When ye are once out of this life, then is there no place for repentance, nor any effect of satisfaction. In this world the life is either won or lost. In this world eternal salvation is provided for by the unfeigned worshipping of God and the fruits of true faith. Let not any man, either by his sins or years, be held back from coming to lay hold upon salvation. So long yet as a man is in this world, no late repentance doth come out of season. The entry is open unto God's indulgence; and to them that seek and understand the truth, the path to pardon is passing plain. Thou, even at the very end and last gasp of this temporal life, ask pardon for thy sins at the hands of him which is the true and only God; call to him for the confession and faith of his knowledge: to him that confesseth pardon is granted, and to him that believeth salvation is given, and he even pre-

No repentance cometh too late.

sently upon his departure doth pass to immortality. This grace doth Christ communicate: this gift he doth attribute unto his own mercy, by making death subject unto the triumph of the cross, by redeeming him that believeth with the price of his blood, by reconciling man to God the Father, by quickening the mortal by the heavenly regeneration. Let us all, if it be possible, follow him. Let us all profess his sign and sacrament. He openeth to us the way of life. He bringeth us to paradise again. He leadeth us to the kingdom of heaven. With him we shall always live; and being by him made the sons of God, we shall with him always rejoice, being restored by the shedding of his blood. We shall be Christians glorified together with Christ, blessed in God, rejoicing with perpetual pleasure always in the sight of God, and evermore giving thanks to God. For he cannot choose but be merry always and thankful, who, being once in danger and fear of death, is now made secure in immortality[1]."

[1 Credite et vivite: et qui nos ad tempus persequimini, in æternum gaudete nobiscum. Quando istinc excessum fuerit, nullus jam pœnitentiæ locus est, nullus satisfactionis effectus: hic vita aut amittitur, aut tenetur; hic saluti æternæ cultu Dei et fructu fidei providetur. Nec quisquam aut peccatis retardetur, aut annis, quo minus veniat ad consequendam salutem. In isto adhuc mundo manenti pœnitentia nulla sera est. Patet ad indulgentiam Dei aditus, et quærentibus atque intelligentibus veritatem facilis accessus est. Tu sub ipso licet exitu et vitæ temporalis occasu pro delictis roges; et Deum, qui unus et verus est, confessione et fide agnitionis ejus implores. Venia confitenti datur, et credenti indulgentia salutaris de divina pietate conceditur; et ad immortalitatem sub ipsa morte transitur. Hanc gratiam Christus impertit, et hoc munus misericordiæ suæ tribuit, subigendo mortem trophæo crucis, redimendo credentem pretio sanguinis sui, reconciliando hominem Deo Patri, vivificando mortalem regeneratione cœlesti. Hunc, si fieri potest, sequamur omnes; hujus sacramento et signo censeamur: hic nobis viam vitæ aperit, hic ad paradisum reduces facit, hic ad cœlorum regna perducet. Cum ipso semper vivemus, facti per ipsum filii Dei: cum ipso exultabimus semper, ipsius cruore reparati. Erimus Christiani cum Christo simul gloriosi, de Deo Patre beati, de perpetua voluptate lætantes semper in conspectu Dei, et agentes Deo gratias semper. Neque enim poterit nisi et lætus esse semper et gratus, qui cum morti fuisset obnoxius, factus est de immortalitate securus.—Cyprian. Tract. ad Demetrian. fin. p. 196. Oxon. 1682.]

TO[2] THE MOST RENOWNED[3] PRINCE

EDWARD THE SIXTH,

KING OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE, LORD OF IRELAND, PRINCE OF WALES AND CORNWALL, DEFENDER OF THE CHRISTIAN FAITH,

GRACE AND PEACE FROM GOD THE FATHER, THROUGH OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST.

The promise, that not long ago[4] I made to your most royal majesty, I do now perform, offering here the other eight sermons of the fourth Decade, which I dedicate unto your royal majesty, that of me you may have two decades of sermons full and wholly finished. In March I sent twelve sermons unto you, which were favourably accepted of your royal majesty, as I understand by the letters of that godly and worthy learned man, Master J. Hooper[5], the most vigilant bishop of Glocester, my brother and reverend fellow-father in Jesus Christ: who also by the commendation of your royal majesty's good will to me-ward hath heartened me on, so that now, with far more confidence and liberty than before, I send unto your majesty this other part of my work, entreating of most weighty and holy matters. In this my dedication I respect nothing else but that which I declared in my former epistle; to wit, that I, according to the gift that the Lord hath endued me withal, may help forward and advance the state of christian religion, now again happily springing up in the famous realm of England by your royal majesty's good beginnings and counsels of your worthy nobles. All they of every nation that is in Christendom, which do truly believe in Christ Jesus, do heartily rejoice, on your majesty's behalf and the behalf of your most flourishing kingdom, for this renovation of true religion; and do earnestly pray to Christ the Lord, that he will happily bring to a good end the thing that you in the fear of him have happily begun.

Your royal majesty verily hath adventured upon a work Whether they that

[2 See Orig. Lett. ed. Park. Soc. pp. 671, 673.]

[3 Serenissimo, Lat.] [4 See Vol. II. p. 16, note 4.]

[5 Orig. Lett. ed. Parker Soc. Vol. I. p. 88.]

mind to reform the churches must stay to look for the determination of a council. Matt. xxviii.

both very great and full of troubles: but he will never fail your godly endeavours, that said, "Behold, I am with you for ever unto the end of the world." And now also, even as it hath been always from the first beginning of the church, there are many lets and great impediments, that are object against most holy and wholesome intents, doing what they can to hinder and trouble the reformation of religion[1]: and among other stops this is one of the greatest, that no small number even of the wisest sort do say, that there ought no such haste to be made upon private authority, but that the determination of the general council in controversies of religion must needs be stayed for, and altogether looked after; without the judgment whereof, say they, it is not lawful for a kingdom[2], much less for any other commonweal, to alter any one point in religion once received and hitherto used.

Jer. viii.

But the prophets and apostles do not send us to the councils of priests or elders, but to the word of God: yea, in Jeremy we read, "How say ye, We are wise, we have the law of the Lord among us? Truly, the lying pen of the scribes have wrote a lie[3]. The wise have been ashamed, they were afraid and were taken: for lo, they have cast out the word of the Lord; what wisdom then can there be among them?" Again,

Luke ix.

in the Gospel we read, "No man, that layeth his hand to the plough, and looketh back, is fit for the kingdom of God." Therefore the authority of the prophets and evangelists giveth counsel, fully to absolve and perfectly to end the reformation of religion once begun with the fear of God, out of or by the word of God; and not to look for or stay upon councils, which are directed, not by the word of God, but by the affections and motions of men.

What councils have been in these later ages celebrated.

For the late examples of some ages within the space of these 400 last years or thereabout do sufficiently teach us what we may look for by the determination of general councils. The causes of councils of old were the corruption either of doctrine or else of the teachers, or else the ruin of ecclesiastical discipline. And good and zealous men have strongly cried now by the space of 500 years and more, that

[1 cœptam, Lat. omitted; which is begun.]

[2 ne regno quidem, Lat.; not even for a kingdom.]

[3 the false pen of the scribes worketh for falsehood. Marg. Auth. Ver.]

there are crept into the church superstitions, errors, and abuses; that the salt of the earth is unsavoury, that is, that the ministers of the churches are by sloth, ignorance, and wickedness become unseasonable; and that all discipline in the church is fallen to ruin. Bernard Clarevallensis[4], being one among many, is a notable witness of the thing[5] and condition. And for that cause there have been many councils of priests celebrated, at the calling together of the bishop of Rome, together with the mutual aid of many kings and princes. But what became of them, what was done in them, and what small amendment or correction of doctrine, teachers, and discipline there was by them obtained, the thing itself (the more it is to be lamented) doth plainly declare. For the more that councils were assembled, the more did superstition and error prevail in doctrine, abuse in ceremonial rites, pride, riot, covetousness, and all kind of corruption in the teachers or priests, and a foul blurring out of all honest discipline. For such men were made presidents of the councils, as had need first of all themselves either to be brought into a better order, or else to be utterly excommunicate out of the congregation of the saints; and they being presidents did in the councils handle causes neither lawful nor lawfully. For the word of God had among them neither due authority nor dignity; neither did they admit to the examination and discussing of causes those men whom it was decent to have chiefly admitted, but them whom they themselves did think good to like of; and in them they sought not the glory of God and the safeguard of the church, but sought themselves, that is, the glory and pleasures of this transitory world. Therefore in the holding of so many general councils we see no amendment or reformation in the church obtained, but rather errors, abuses, and the kingdom and tyranny of the priests confirmed and augmented[6].

What Christians at this day may look for by general councils.

And even at this day, although we would wink and not see it, yet we cannot choose but even with our hands feel what we may look and hope for in a general council. There shall at this day no council have any authority, unless it be

[4 Bernard largely complains of the pride and corruption of the clergy, De Offic. Episc. capp. VII. IX; in Cantic. Serm. x. § 3, LXXVII. § 1.]

[5 hujus rei, Lat.; and condition, not in Lat.]

[6 See Bullinger Von den Conciliis, Par. II. cap. 11. Zurich, 1561.]

lawfully (as they expound lawfully) called together. None seemeth to be lawfully called together but that which the bishop of Rome doth call together, and that which is holden according to the ancient[1] custom and laws received; namely, that wherein they alone do sit, and have, as they call it, deciding voices, to whom power is permitted to determine[2] and give sentence in the council; and to them who shall think it an heinous crime, and directly contrary to the oath that is given them, to do once so much as think, much more to speak, anything against the bishop and see of Rome, against the decrees of the fathers, and constitutions of the councils.

What therefore may you look for in such a council? That forsooth which I told you that now by the space of 400 years and more the afflicted church of God, to the detriment of godliness, hath seen and felt; namely, that the sincere doctrine of Christ being trode under foot, and holy discipline utterly oppressed, we see that every day more and more, with the great and intolerable[3] tyranny of the see and church of Rome, there do increase and are confirmed unsound and faulty doctrine, most filthy abuses, and too too great licentiousness and wicked living of the priests. They forsooth do cry, that it is an heresy to accuse the pope of error, in the chest of whose breast all heavenly doctrine is laid up and contained. They cry that all the decrees of the apostolical see must be received even so as if they were confirmed by the very voice of Peter himself. They cry that it is a wicked thing to move any controversy, or to call into doubt the doctrine and ceremonies received and used in the church of Rome; especially touching their sacraments, whereof they to their advantage do make filthy merchandise. They cry that the church of Rome hath power to judge all men, but that no man hath any authority to judge of her judgment. There are in the decretals most evident canons that do set out and urge these things, as I have told them[4]. Now what manner reformation shall we think that they are likely to admit, which stand so stiffly to the defence of these things? Truly, they would rather that Christ with his gospel, and the true church his spouse, should wholly perish, than they would depart one inch from their decrees, rites, authorities, dignities, wealth, and

[1 hucusque consueto, Lat.] [2 residendi, Lat.]
[3 imo intoleranda, Lat.] [4 as I have told them, not in Lat.]

pleasures. They verily come into the council, not to be judged of others, that they may amend those things which even their own consciences and[5] all the world do say would be amended; but they come[6] to judge and yoke all other men, to keep still their power and authority, and to overthrow and take away whatsoever withstandeth their lust and tyranny. For afore, there were sent out horrible thunders against the accusers or adversaries of the see apostolic; that is, of the papistical corruption: after, followed the hot bolts of that thunder, even sentences definitive of excommunication. The secular power hath now by the space of thirty years and more been called on, and persecution hath been everywhere raised up against guiltless Christians[7], not for committing heinous crimes and defending naughtiness, but for inveighing against mischiefs and mischievous men, and for requiring the reformation of the church: and yet even at this day most cruel edicts are out, and cruelty is exercised every day more and more, against them that confess the name of Christ: yea, such is their impudency and brasen-faced boldness, they dissemble not that the council, if any must be celebrated, shall be called for the rooting out of heresies; yea, they do openly profess, that the council, once held at Trent, was to this end assembled. Now since these things more clearly than the sun are perceived to be most true, thou shalt, most holy king, do wisely and religiously, if, without looking for the determination of a general council, thou shalt proceed to reform the churches in thy kingdom according to the rule of the books of both Testaments, which we do rightly believe, being written by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, to be the very word of God.

It is lawful for every christian church to reform things out of order.

But now, that it is lawful for every christian church, much more for every notable christian kingdom, without the advice of the church of Rome and the members thereof, in matters of religion depraved by them, wholly to make a reformation according to the rule of God's most holy word, it is thereby manifest, because Christians are the congregation, the church, or subjects of their king, Christ, to whom they owe by all means most absolute and perfect obedience. Now the Lord

[5 adeoque, Lat.; and so.]

[6 conabuntur, Lat.; they will use every effort.]

[7 homines, Lat.; men. The bull of Leo X. against Luther was issued June 15, 1520.]

gave his church a charge of reformation: he commended unto it the sound doctrine of the gospel, together with the lawful use of his holy sacraments: he also condemned all false doctrine, that I mean that is contrary to the gospel: he damned the abuse and profanation of the sacraments; and delivered to us the true worship of God, and proscribed the false. Therefore Christians, obeying the laws and commandments of their prince, do utterly remove or take away all superstition, and do restore, establish, and preserve the true religion, according to the manner that Christ their prince appointed them. He verily is a fool or a madman, which saith that the church of Christ hath none authority to correct such errors, vices, and abuses as do daily creep into it[1]. And yet the Romish tyranny hath so bewitched the eyes of many men, that they think that they cannot lawfully do any thing[2] but what it pleaseth Rome to give them leave to do. The ecclesiastical histories make mention of provincial synods, held in sundry provinces, wherein there were handled matters of faith and the reformation of the churches, and yet no mention once made of the bishop of Rome. What may be thought of that moreover, that in certain synods, not heretical but orthodoxastical and catholic, thou mayest find some that were excommunicated for appealing from their own churches unto the church of Rome[3]? St Cyprian, writing to Cornelius[4] the bishop of Rome, doth say: "Since that it is ordained by us all, and that it is just and right, that every man's cause should be heard there where the crime is committed; and that to every several pastor is appointed a portion of the flock, which every one must govern, and make account of his doings before the Lord: it is expedient, verily, that those, over whom we have the charge, should not gad to and fro, by that means with their subtle and deceitful petulancy to make the concord of bishops to be at jar; but to plead their causes there where they may have their accusers present, and witnesses of their crime committed[5]."

[1 as—into it, not in Lat.] [2 hic, Lat. omitted; in this matter.]

[3 Bingham, Book IX. chap. 1. § 11; and XVII. chap. 5. § 14.]

[4 beato Cornelio, Lat.]

[5 Nam cum statutum sit omnibus nobis, et æquum sit pariter ac justum, ut uniuscujusque causa illic audiatur, ubi est crimen admissum; et singulis pastoribus portio gregis sit adscripta, quam regat unusquisque et gubernet, rationem sui actus Domino redditurus: oportet utique eos quibus præsumus non circumcursare, nec episcoporum concordiam

But letting pass the testimonies of men, we do now come to the testimonies in the book of God. The most holy king Josias, most godly prince, may alone in this case teach you what to do and how to do, with the warrant and authority of God himself. He by the diligent reading of the holy book of God, and by the contemplation of things present, and the manner of worshipping God that then was used, did understand, that his ancestors did greatly and very far err from the plain and simple truth; for which cause he calleth together the princes and other estates of his kingdom, together with all the priests, to hold and celebrate a council with them. In that council he standeth not long disputing whether the examples of the elders ought rather to be followed, or God's commandment simply received: whether he ought rather to believe the church, or the scripture: and whether all the judgment of religion ought to be referred to the high priest. For laying abroad the book of the law, he submitteth both himself and all his unto the sacred scripture. Out of the book of the law both he himself doth learn, and biddeth all his to learn, what thing it is that pleaseth God, namely, that which was commanded and learned in the reading of the law of God. And presently he gave charge, that all men should do and execute that, not having any regard to the ancient custom, or to the church[6] that was at that time: he made all subject to the word of God. Which deed of his is so commended, that, next after David, he is preferred before all the kings of Judah and Israel.

Holy king Josias.

Now your royal majesty cannot follow any better or safer counsel than this, considering that it proceedeth from God, and that it is most fit for the cause which is even now in hand. The disputation is of the reformation of religion, and the true faith of Christ. You know that that doth spring from heaven, namely, that it is taught by the word of God, and poured into our hearts by the Holy Ghost; for Paul saith: "Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of Christ." Therefore as true faith is not grounded upon the word of man, so is it not taught or planted by the same. For in another place the same apostle saith: "My preaching was

Faith cannot be reformed but by the word of God.

Rom. x.

1 Cor. ii.

cohærentem sua subdola et fallaci temeritate collidere; sed agere illic causam suam, ubi et accusatores habere et testes sui criminis possint. —Cyprian. Opp. Epist. LIX. p. 136. Oxon. 1682.]

[6 ipsius etiam ecclesiæ, Lat.]

not in the enticing words of man's wisdom, but in the shewing of the Spirit and of power; that your faith might not be in the wisdom of man, but in the power of God." Not without good cause, therefore, do we refuse the traditions of men, and turn only to the doctrine of the word of the Lord, without which it is assuredly certain that there is no doctrine nor any foundation of true faith.

The scriptures do sufficiently minister a full platform how to reform the church.

Neither are they worthy to be heard, who think that the canonical scriptures are not plain enough, full enough, or sufficient enough, to minister a perfect platform of reformation. They blaspheme the Spirit of God, imputing unto it obscureness and imperfection, which faults no profane writer can well abide to hear of. St Paul in defence of the truth saith: "All scripture given by inspiration of God is profitable to doctrine, to reprove, to correction, to instruction which is in righteousness; that the man of God may be perfect, instructed unto all good works." What now, I pray you, is omitted in these words, that may seem to appertain to a most absolute reformation? What, I beseech you, have those impudent fellows to say against this? Proceed, therefore, proceed, most holy king, to imitate the most godly princes, and the infallible rule of the holy scripture: proceed, I say, without staying for man's authority, by the most true and absolute instrument of truth, the book of God's most holy word, to reform the church of Christ in thy most happy England[1].

2 Tim. iii. 16, 17.

The Lord Jesus, the head and mighty prince of this church[2], preserve and lead thee his most faithful worshipper in the way of his truth until the end, to the glory of his name, and the good estate and welfare of the whole christian church.

At Tigure, in the month of August, the year of our Lord, 1550.

Your royal majesty's most dutifully bounden,
HENRY BULLINGER,
Minister of the church at Tigure in Switzerland.

[1 ecclesias Christi Anglicanas, Lat.; most happy, not in Lat.]
[2 his church, ed. 1577; ecclesiæ suæ, Lat.]

THE

OTHER EIGHT SERMONS

OF THE

FOURTH DECADE,

WRITTEN BY

HENRY BULLINGER.

OF GOD; OF THE TRUE KNOWLEDGE OF GOD, AND OF THE DIVERSE WAYS HOW TO KNOW HIM; THAT GOD IS ONE IN SUBSTANCE, AND THREE IN PERSONS.

THE THIRD SERMON.

I HAVE hitherto in thirty-two sermons discoursed upon the word of God, and the lawful exposition of the same; upon christian faith, the love of God and our neighbour. I have also spoken of the law of nature, of man's law, and God's law, and of the parts of God's law, namely, the moral, the ceremonial, and the judicial laws; of the use of the law, and of the fulfilling and abrogation of the same; of the likeness and difference betwixt the two testaments and people, the old and the new; of christian liberty; of offences; of the effect[3] and merits of good works; of sin, and the sundry sorts thereof: and also of the grace of God, or the gospel of Jesu Christ, in whom our heavenly Father hath given us all things belonging to life and eternal salvation: finally, I have treated of repentance, and of the things that do especially seem to belong thereunto. And for because our purpose is to dispute discreetly upon the principal points of christian religion[4], and that[5] in the premises we have heard often mention made of God, of the knowledge and worship of God, of Jesus Christ, of the Holy Ghost, of good and evil spirits, of the church, of prayer, of the sacraments, and such like holy things; since we are now come to an end of those former points, necessity itself doth here require, that we should speak somewhat now of all and every one of these latter

[3 ratione, Lat.] [4 religionis nostræ, Lat.]
[5 præterea, Lat.; and more especially.]

principles according to the holy scripture, so far forth as the Lord shall give me grace and ability to do the same.

Sundry opinions concerning God.

Concerning God there were of old many erroneous opinions, not among the ruder sort of people only, but even in the whole pack of philosophers, and conventicles of false Christians. As touching the philosophers, that ancient and learned writer, Tertullian, was wont to say, that 'philosophers are the patriarchs of heretics[1]:' and touching false Christians the

1 John ii. 19.

apostle John said, "They went out from us, but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, they would have remained with us." Neither do I see what gain you should get by it, if I should proceed to reckon up unto you all their opinions. It is good perhaps to know wherein they[2] erred, lest we also do strike upon the same rock that they did. Therefore if any that have a desire unto it do wish to see the opinions of the heathen sort and of heretics[3] concerning God, let them search Plutarch in his *Placitis Philoso. lib.* I. cap. 7. or in other heathen writers; or[4] in Cyril's first book *Contra Julianum;* and[5] in the 4. cap. *Dogmatum vel definitionum Ecclesiast.*[6] I will[7] at this time trouble the attentive ears and minds of the godly hearers with that burden. That diversity of opinions is derived from none other fountain than from the boldness and unskilfulness of men, which are not ashamed of their own device and brain to add and apply[8] to God the things from which he is most far and free. And now, that here I may not stick long in declaring the narrow straitness and misty darkness of man's wit; who, I pray you, is able with his understanding to conceive the being[9] of God, when as indeed no man did ever fully understand of what fashion the soul of man is, of what sort many other things are that be in man's body, and of what manner substance[10] the sun and moon are made? There are given many reasons of natural philosophy; but the work of God doth still abide more great and wonderful than that the wit or speech of man

Whereupon the diversity of opinions concerning God do rise, and from whence the true knowledge of him must be fetched.

[1 See Vol. II. p. 407, note 5.] [2 alii, Lat.; others.]
[3 exercitationes exterorum, et hæreticorum sententias, Lat.]
[4 aut etiam, Lat.; or even.] [5 denique, Lat.; lastly.]
[6 A treatise among the works of Augustine.]
[7 nolo, Lat.; I will *not*.]
[8 affingere, Bullinger's one word.] [9 essentiam, Lat.]
[10 So ed. 1577; what manner of substance, 1587.]

is able to comprehend or express it. Let no man therefore, that goeth about to know any certainty of God, descend into himself to search him out with thoughts of his own[11]; neither let him ground his opinion upon men's determinations and weak definitions[12]: for otherwise he shall always worship the invention of his own heart, mere folly, trifles and foolish phantasies. But on the other side again, the man cannot choose but think rightly, judge truly, and speak well of God, that attributeth nothing to himself, deviseth nothing of his own brain, nor followeth the toys of other men's inventing; but in all things giveth ear to the word of God, and followeth always his holy revelation[13]. Therefore let this stand as it were for a continual rule, that God cannot be rightly known but by his word; and that God is to be received and believed to be such an one as he revealeth himself unto us in his holy word. For no creature verily can better tell what, and what kind of one God is, than God himself.

That there is a God.

Now since this God doth in his word, by the workmanship of the world, by the holy scriptures, and by his oracles uttered by the mouth of the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles, yea, and the very minds[14] and consciences of men, testify that he is, therefore did the kingly prophet David[15] say: "The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God." For he must needs be an ass or a fool, which denieth the thing that is evident to all men in the world which are not beside their wits, namely, that there is a God: considering that even Cicero, an heathen author, in his book *de Natura Deorum*, doth say[16], "It is bred and born together with men, and graffed in their hearts, to think that there is a God[17]." Truly, they that deny God do deny him whom nevertheless they fear; and therefore by that fear they confess that he is, by that means convincing themselves of lying and falsehood.

Psal. xiv.

A measure is to be kept in demanding and inquiring what God is.

Again, this is to be noted; that in demanding who and what God is, although that question is made and doth arise

[11 to search—his own, the translator's addition.]
[12 aut humano innitatur judicio, Lat.]
[13 revelationem Dei, Lat.]
[14 in the very minds, ed. 1577; in animis denique, Lat.]
[15 merito, Lat.; with good reason, omitted.]
[16 inter alia, Lat.; among other things, omitted.]
[17 Cic. de Nat. Deor. Lib. I. cap. 17.]

even by the beating out and discussing of the scriptures, yet a measure is to be kept and in any case observed. For to go about over curiously to inquire after, search out, and seek[1] the very eternal being of God, is both perilous and also flatly forbidden. Salomon crieth, "As it is not good to eat much honey; so he, that is an over curious searcher out of God's majesty, shall be confounded of his glory[2]." Before that singular and notable communication, wherein our God in the mount Sinai talked[3] with the whole people of Israel, it is said to Moses: "Set bounds unto the people round about the mountain, and say unto them, Take heed to yourselves that ye go not up into the mount, or touch the border of it. Whosoever toucheth the mount, let him die the death," &c. Lo here, it was present death to pass the limits or bounds prescribed. Therefore our studies are and ought to be definite, not infinite[4]. Truly we read in many places of the holy scriptures, that the most entire and excellent friends of God stood amazed trembling, so often as God in any outward shew did of his own accord offer himself unto their eyes. I need not to busy myself too much in reckoning up examples. Ye know how Abraham behaved himself in the talk which he had with God, Gen. xviii. Ye know what the parents of Gedeon said in the book of the Judges[5]; and what Helias spake, 3 Reg. xix. Peter, after that he by the miraculous taking of the great draught of fishes did understand that Christ was more than a man, cried out, saying: "Go out from me, O Lord, for I am a sinful man." Therefore the saints, if in any other matters belonging to God, then in this especially, are humble, modest, and religious; understanding that his eternal and incomprehensible power and unspeakable majesty are altogether uncircumscriptible[6], and cannot be comprehended in any name whatsoever.

Prov. xxv.

Exod. xix.

Luke v.

The name of God is unspeakable and passeth man's utterance.

Very eloquently, truly, and godly doth Tertullian in his book *De Trinitate* say: 'The proper name of God cannot be uttered, because it cannot be conceived. For that is called by a name, that is conceived by the condition of its own

[1 inspicere, Lat.] [2 See Vol. I. p. 65, note 6.]
[3 congreditur, Lat.] [4 not infinite, not in Lat.]
[5 So Latin also, *Gedeonis*, for Samson. Both Gideon and Manoah expressed the same apprehension. Judg. vi. 22, and xiii. 22.]
[6 nulla definitione, Lat.; by any definition.]

nature: for a name is the significant notifying of that thing which may be conceived by the name. But when the thing, which is handled, is of such sort that it cannot be rightly conceived by our very senses and understanding, how shall it be rightly named by an apt term and fit nomination? which, while it is beyond understanding, must needs also be above the significancy of the term whereby it is named: so that when God upon certain causes or occasions doth annex or declare to us his name in words, we may think and know that the very property of the name is not expressed so much in words, as a certain significancy is set down, to which while men in prayers do run, they may seem to be able by it to call upon and obtain the mercy of God[7].' And again he saith: 'Concerning God and those things that are of him and in him, neither is the mind of man able to conceive what they be, how great they be, and of what fashion they be; neither doth the eloquence of man's mouth utter in speech words in any point answerable unto this majesty[8]. For to the thinking upon and uttering out of his majesty all eloquence is mute and dumb, and the whole mind is too too little. For it is greater than the mind; neither can it be conceived how great it is: because, if it can be conceived, then must it needs be less than man's mind, wherein it may be comprehended. It is also greater than all speech, and cannot be spoken; because if it may be spoken, then is it lesser than man's speech, by which, if it be spoken, it may be compassed and made to be understanded. But whatsoever may be thought of him shall still be less than he: and whatsoever in speech is shewed of him, being compared with him,

[7 Ex quo effectum est, ut nec nomen Dei proprium possit edici, quoniam non possit nec concipi. Id enim nomine continetur, quidquid etiam ex naturæ suæ conditione comprehenditur. Nomen enim significantia est ejus rei quæ comprehendi potuit ex nomine. At quando id, de quo agitur, tale est, ut condigne nec ipsis intellectibus colligatur; quomodo appellationis digne vocabulo pronuntiabitur? Quod dum extra intellectum est, etiam supra appellationis significantiam sit necesse est: ut merito quando nomen suum Deus ex quibusdam rationibus et occasionibus adjicit et præfert, non tam legitimam proprietatem appellationis sciamus esse depromptam, quam significantiam quandam constitutam, ad quam dum homines decurrunt, Dei misericordiam per ipsam impetrare posse videantur.—Lib. de Trinitate. cap. IV. Tertull. Opp. Par. 1664, p. 709.]

[8 his, ed. 1577.]

shall be much less than he. For in silence to ourselves we may partly perceive him: but as he is, in words to express him, it is altogether impossible. For if you call him Light, then do you rather name a creature of his than him, but him you express not: or if you call him Virtue, then do you rather name his power than him, but him you declare not: or if you call him Majesty, then do you rather name his honour than him, but him you describe not. And why should I, in running through every several title, prolong the time? I will at once declare it all. Say all of him whatsoever thou canst, and yet thou shalt still rather name something of his than himself. For what canst thou fitly speak or think of him, that is greater than all thy words and senses? Unless it be, that after one manner, and that too as we can, as our capacity will serve, and as our understanding will let us, we shall in mind conceive what God is, if we shall think that he is that which cannot be understood, nor can possibly come into our thought what kind of thing, and how great it is. For as at the seeing of the brightness of the sun the sight of our eyes doth so dazzle and wax dim, that our sight cannot behold the very circle of the same by reason that it is overcome of the brightness of the beams that are object against it; even so fareth it with the sight of our mind in all our thoughts of God; and by how much more she settleth herself to consider of God, by so much more is she blinded in the light of her cogitation. For (to repeat the same thing again) what canst thou fitly think of him that is above all loftiness, higher than all height, deeper than all depth, lighter than all light, clearer than all clearness, brighter than all brightness, stronger than all strength, more virtuous than all virtue, fairer than all fairness, truer than all truth, greater than all greatness, mightier than all might, richer than all riches, wiser than all wisdom, more liberal than all liberality, better than all goodness, juster than all justice, and gentler than all gentleness? For all kinds of virtues must needs be less than he that is the Father and God of all virtues: so that God may truly be said to be such a certain being as to which nothing may be compared. For he is above all that may be spoken[1]." Hitherto have I cited the words of Tertullian.

[1] De hoc ergo ac de eis quæ sunt ipsius et in eo sunt, nec mens hominis quæ sint, quanta sint, et qualia sint, digne concipere potest,

The forms and manners of knowing God.

Although now these things are so, and that no tongue either of angels or of men can fully express what, who, and of what manner God is, seeing that his majesty is incomprehensible and unspeakable; yet the scripture, which is the word of God, attempering itself to our imbecility, doth minister

nec eloquentia sermonis humani æquabilem majestatis ejus virtutem sermonis expromit. Ad cogitandam enim et ad eloquendam illius majestatem, et eloquentia omnis merito muta est, et mens omnis exigua est. Major est enim mente ipsa, nec cogitari possit quantus sit; ne, si potuerit cogitari, mente humana minor sit, qua concipi possit. Major est quoque omni sermone, nec edici possit; ne, si potuerit edici, humano sermone minor sit, quo quum edicitur, et circumiri et colligi possit. Quidquid enim de illo cogitatum fuerit, minus ipso erit; et quidquid enuntiatum fuerit, minus illo comparatum circum ipsum erit. Sentire enim illum taciti aliquatenus possumus; ut autem ipse est, sermone explicare non possumus. Sive enim illum dixeris lucem, creaturam ipsius magis quam ipsum dixeris; ipsum non expresseris: sive illum dixeris virtutem, potentiam ipsius magis quam ipsum dixeris, et deprompseris: sive dixeris majestatem, honorem ipsius magis quam illum ipsum descripseris. Et quid per singula quæque percurrens longum facio? semel totum explicabo. Quidquid omnino de illo retuleris, rem aliquam ipsius magis et virtutem quam ipsum explicaveris. Quid enim de eo condigne aut dicas aut sentias, qui omnibus et sermonibus et sensibus major est? Nisi quod uno modo, et hoc ipsum quomodo possumus, quomodo capimus, quomodo intelligere licet, quid sit Deus, mente capiemus; si cogitaverimus id illum esse, quod quale, et quantum sit non possit intelligi, ne in ipsam quidem cogitationem possit venire. Nam si ad solis aspectum oculorum nostrorum acies hebescit, ne orbem ipsum obtusus inspiciat obviorum sibi superatus fulgore radiorum; hoc idem mentis acies patitur in cogitatione omni de Deo, et quanto ad considerandum Deum plus intenditur, tanto magis ipsa cogitationis suæ luce cæcatur. Quid enim de eo (ut iterum repetam) condigne dicas, qui est sublimitate omni sublimior, et altitudine omni altior, et profundo omni profundior, et omni luce lucidior, et omni claritate clarior, omni splendore splendidior, omni robore robustior, omni virtute viritior, omni pulchritudine pulchrior, veritate omni verior, et fortitudine omni fortior, et majestate omni major, et omni potentia potentior, et omnibus divitiis ditior, omni prudentia prudentior, et omni benignitate benignior, omni bonitate melior, omni justitia justior, omni clementia clementior? Minora enim sint necesse est omnium genera virtutum eo ipso qui virtutum omnium et Deus et parens est: ut vere dici possit, id Deus esse, quod ejusmodi est cui comparari nihil potest. Super omne est enim quod dici potest.—Ibid. cap. II. pp. 707, 708. This treatise, de Trinitate, is found among the works of Tertullian, but is an abridgment of a book of Tertullian's by Novatian.]

unto us some means, forms, and phrases of speech, by them to bring us to some such knowledge of God as may at least-wise suffice us while we live in this world: so yet notwithstanding that still we should think that the thing that is incomprehensible cannot be defined, but that by those phrases an occasion is only given, by which we are to be brought to greater things through the illumination of the Spirit; and that we should in this disputation have still before the eyes of our mind that true and assured sentence of the eternal
Exod. xxxiii. God unto his servant Moses, saying: "Thou canst not see my face; for no man shall see me and live." For when we are once departed out of this life, and are unburdened of this mortality and mortal frailty, then shall we see the
1 John iii. majesty of God; for the apostle St John said: "We know that when he appeareth, we shall be like unto him; for we shall see him as he is." And to these let us annex the
1 Cor. xiii. 12. words of the apostle Paul, where he saith: "Now we see in a glass, even in a dark speaking[1]; but then we shall see face to face." Therefore let no man go beyond the limited bounds, or prevent the time appointed, nor yet presume by wicked boldness and curiosity[2] in this life to behold the face, that is, the very essence or being, of God. Let that revelation of God suffice every one which God himself voucheth safe in his word to open unto us, namely, so much as he of his goodness thinketh necessary and profitable for us to know. And I do here with warrant say, that that wisdom is the true wisdom, which will not in this matter go about to know or savour more than the eternal wisdom doth teach to know.

The names of God. The first and chiefest way to know God is derived out of the very names of God attributed unto him in the holy scripture. Those names are many and of sundry sorts, because his virtue, his wisdom, I mean, his goodness, justice, and power are altogether infinite. I will reckon up and expound unto you, according to my skill the most excellent and usual among the rest.

Jehovah. Among all the names of God that is the most excellent which they call *Tetragrammaton*, that is (if we may so say), the four-lettered name: for it is compounded of the four

[1 in a riddle. Marg. auth. ver.]
[2 in hac carne et, Lat. omitted; in this flesh and.]

spiritual[3] letters, and is called JEHOVAH. It is derived of the verb-substantive, *Hovah*, before which they put *Jod* and make it Jehovah, that is to say, Being, or, I am; as he that is *αὐτουσία*, a being of himself, having his life and being not of any other but of himself; lacking nobody's aid to make him to be, but giving to be unto all manner of things; to wit, eternal God, without beginning and ending, in whom we live, we move, and have our being. To this do those words especially belong, which we find to have passed betwixt God and Moses in the third chapter of Exodus: "And Moses said to God, Behold, when I come unto the children of Israel, to whom thou dost now send me, and shall say unto them, The God of your fathers hath sent me unto you; and they shall ask me, saying, What is his name? what answer shall I make them? And God said to Moses, I am that I am; or, I will be that I will be: and he said, Thus shalt thou say to the children of Israel, I am, or Being, or I will be, hath sent me unto you." That is, I am God that will be, and he hath sent me who is himself Being, or Essence, and God everlasting. For their future tense containeth three sundry times, He that is, He that was, and, He that will be, hath sent me. Truly the evangelist and apostle John seemeth in his Revelation to have had an eye to these words of the Lord, which also he went about to interpret, saying in the person of God: "I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, Rev. i. or the first and the last, saith the almighty Lord, which is, and which was, and which shall be."

Some there are which observe this for a note, that in all tongues almost, even of the barbarous sort, the name of God is written with four letters. Concerning his name in Hebrew it is assuredly so; and in the Greek, Latin, and German tongues it is so also. For God in Greek is called *Θεὸς*, in Latin *Deus*, and with us Germans he is called *Gott*. They add moreover, that the Persians call him *Σύρη*, and the Egyptians *Θωὺθ*, or *Θευὺθ*, and by contraction, *Θώθ*. And in the four letters the Cabalists say that there are wonderful mysteries contained: of which as other have written very diligently, so I have liefer[4] here not to stand upon them[5], or to trouble your patience with them.

Cabala is a tradition of the Jews, left to them by Moses, not in writing, but from the father to the son, wherein is contained as well the secrets of nature, as the mystical sense included in the words of the holy scripture.

[3 spiritalibus literis.]

[4 liefer, rather.]

[5 his subtilitatibus, Lat.]

Jah and Hu.

Like to this also are these names of God, *Jah*, and *Hu*. Whereof the first is oftener found in the Psalms than once: for David saith, "*Hallelu-Jah*," that is, "Praise ye the Psal. cxi. Lord." The latter is also mentioned by David, saying, *Hu*, that is, "he," I say, God, the Being and creator of all things, [Isai. xlii. 8.] "spake the word and it was done; *Hu*, he commanded and Hu signifieth he or this. it was." In Esay the Lord saith: "I am the Lord, *Hu* is my name[1], and my glory will I give unto none other." Now those words also are derived of being, and do teach us that God is always like himself, an essence which is of itself eternally, and which giveth to be unto all things that are: as he by whom, in whom, and to whom all things are, being himself a perpetual and most absolute ἐντελέχεια, or perfit havingness[2].

But the Hebrews do not read or express the four-lettered name of God by calling it Jehovah, but instead of it they Adonai. use the word *Adonai*. For they say that Jehovah must not be uttered. Now all interpreters in their translations, where they turn it into Latin, do call it *Dominus*, that is, Lord: for God is the Lord of all things, both visible and invisible. Neither is there in all the world any other Lord but this one, and he alone, to whom all things in the world are subject and do obey: for he hath a most mere dominion and absolute monarchy over all his creatures. And therefore for plainness sake sometime the word *Sabbaoth* is annexed to the name of God[3]; which some translate "the Lord of powers," and The Lord of Sabbaoth or of hosts. some "the Lord of hosts." For God, being almighty, doth by his power or strength shew forth and in his host declare, what mighty things he is able to do, and of how great power and might he is. For since that he is the God of all creatures, and that he doth dispose and use them as a captain doth his soldiers, to work mighty and marvellous things, he doth even by small things[4] declare how great he himself is, and how great his power is. In the host of God are all the Dan. vii. angels, of whom Daniel said, "Thousand thousands and hundred thousands did minister unto him:" one of which angels did in one night kill in the Assyrians' camp, under the banner

[1 Hu est nomen meum. Bibl. Tigur. Lat. 1544.]

[2 perfectihabia, Lat.]

[3 Dicitur enim Dominus Sabaoth, Lat. omitted; for he is called the Lord of Sabaoth.]

[4 minima, Lat.; the smallest.]

of the most puissant king Senacherib, one hundred fourscore and five thousand soldiers. In the host of God are all the winds, all the stars, and all the fiery, airy, and watery impressions. In the host of God are all evil spirits, all men, kings and princes, all the warlike furniture of every nation, and finally, all creatures, both visible and invisible: and all these he useth according to his own pleasure, yea, according to his own good and just will, when, how much, and how long he listeth, to finish and bring to pass his own will and judgments. In punishing the first world at the deluge he used water: in destroying of Sodoma and the cities thereabout he used fire: and in rooting out the Canaanites and Jews he used the means of mortal men, or soldiers.

Sometimes there is ascribed to the Lord[5] the word *Æleon*, and the Lord is called *Æleon*[6], that is to say, high. For in the one hundred and thirteenth psalm we read: "The Lord is higher than all nations, and his glory is above the heavens. Who is like the Lord our God, which setteth himself so high in his habitation?" And in the ninety-seventh psalm he saith: "Thou, Lord, art higher than all that are in the earth; thou art exalted far above all gods." The high Lord. Psal. cxiii. Psal. xcvii.

Again, God is called *El*, because of his strength. For what he will, that can he do, and therefore is he called a strong God, or a giant[7]. For Jeremy saith: "The Lord is with me as a strong giant." Esay saith: "The Lord shall come forth like a giant, he shall take stomach unto him[8] like a man of war, he shall roar and overcome his enemies." And like to this is the word Eloah, whose plural number is Elohim. That name betokeneth the presence of God, which never faileth his workmanship and worshippers[9]. Jeremy bringeth in God speaking, and saith: "Am I God, that seeth but the thing that is nigh at hand only, and not the thing that is far off[10]? may any man hide himself, so that I shall not El. Jer. xx. Isai. xlii. Eloah. Jer. xxiii.

[5 additur vocabulo Domini, Lat.; there is added to the name of Lord.]

[6 עֶלְיוֹן *high* in situation or power, *the most High*. Lee's Lex.]

[7 heros vel gigas, Lat.] [8 So Coverdale, 1535.]

[9 Nam אל significat *ad*, cui additur ה relativa particula, quod Deus se referat ad omnia.—Bulling. de Orig. Error. fol. 4.]

[10 Annon Deus de propinquo ego, et non Deus de longinquo? Lat.; Coverdale, 1535, renders the sentence as the translator here.]

see him, saith the Lord? do not I fill heaven and earth?"
Psal. cxxxix. For before him also David said: "Whither shall I go from the breath of thy mouth[1]? And whither shall I flee from thy countenance? If I ascend into heaven, thou art there: and if I descend into hell, thou art there also. If I take the wings of the morning, and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea, even there thy hand shall rule me, and thy right hand
Acts xvii. shall hold me fast." Therefore the apostle Paul saith: "God is not far from every one of us. For by him we live, we move, and have our being." And for that cause peradventure God was of the Greeks called Θεὸς, to wit, ἀπὸ θέειν, because of his readiness and present succour; because he never faileth mortal men, but always and in all places doth aid and relieve them. Likewise Plato in Cratylo, and his interpreter Proclus, do think that Θεὸς (God) is derived ἀπὸ τοῦ θέειν, that is, of running: but that course or running is not referred to the presence or help of God, but to another thing[2]. For when men saw the sun, the moon, the stars, and heaven itself by running still to be turned about, they thought that they were gods. Some there are that will derive it ἀπὸ τοῦ δέους, that is to say, of fear or dread: for fear of religion[3] believeth and persuadeth men that there is a God. The Latins peradd-
Deus. venture framed their *Deus* (God) of the Greeks' Θεός. But some do think rather that *Deus* is derived *a dando*, of giving, because he giveth all things unto all men. For so among the Hebrews he is called Θεὸς[4] (as I will anon declare), or *Schaddai*, because he is sufficient to himself, he lacketh nothing, but giveth to all men all good things and necessary[5]. Some other will have God in Latin to be called *Deus, quod ipsi nihil deest*, that is, because there is nothing wanting in him.

Elohim. But now the scripture doth attribute the plural number, *Elohim*, not to God alone, but also to angels, to judges, and to men in authority: because God is always present with them, while they labour in that office which he hath appointed them unto; and doth by the ministry of them work the things which he himself will, and which are expedient for the welfare of mortal men. And although the word *Elohim* be of the

[1 a Spiritu tuo, Lat.]
[2 Platon. Cratyl. ed. Bekker. Tom. IV. p. 224. Lond. 1826.]
[3 vel religio, Lat.; *or* religion. So ed. 1577.]
[4 Hebræis Dai nuncupatur, Lat.] [5 See Vol. I. p. 216, note 3.]

plural number, yet is it set before verbs in the singular number; as in the first of Genesis we find, "In the beginning," *Bara Elohim, Creavit Dii,* "God created" (for *Bara, created,* is the singular number) heaven and earth. In that phrase of speech is shewed unto us the mystery of the reverend Trinity: for Moses seemeth to have said in effect, In the beginning that God in the Trinity created heaven and earth. In the seventh chapter of the second book of Samuel, *Elohim* in the plural number is joined with verbs of the plural number[6], to declare that there is a difference of persons in the blessed Trinity.

This *Dii* importeth as much as if one should say, Gods.

Moreover, in the league which God maketh with our father Abraham God giveth himself another name. For he saith: "I God am *Schaddai*," that is, sufficient, or sufficiency. Therefore God is called *Schaddai.* Some in their translations turn it *Vastator*, a destroyer, as if God should name himself a just revenger. But Moses Ægyptius[7] saith: "The noun *Schaddai* is compounded of the verb *Daii* (which signifieth, *he sufficeth*) and the letter *Schin,* which hath the same meaning that *Ascher* hath, and signifieth, *he that.* So that *Schaddai* is as much to say as, "he that sufficeth to himself, and is the sufficiency or fulness of all things." Peradventure the heathen have upon this occasion derived their *Saturnus,* which name they gave to them whom they did wickedly take to be gods: for as *Diurnus* cometh of *Dies,* a day; so is *Saturnus* derived a *saturando,* of satisfying or filling[8]. Therefore God is that He, to whom nothing is lacking, which in all things and unto all things is sufficient to himself; who needeth no man's aid, yea, who alone hath all things which do appertain to the perfect felicity both of this life and of the world to come; and which only and alone can fill and suffice all his people and other creatures. For this cause the Germans call him *Gott*, as who should say *Guot*, good, or best[9]; because, as he is full of all goodness, so he doth most liberally bestow upon men all manner of good things. The German word is

Schaddai.

Gen. xvii.

Saturn.

It seemeth that we Englishmen do borrow of the Germans their word Gott, and turn their double T into D, which we sound God, as if we should say, good.

[6 Verse 23, הָלְכוּ־אֱלֹהִים.]

[7 Moses Maimonides, a celebrated Jewish rabbi, born at Cordova, in Spain, lived long, and died in Egypt, A.D. 1204.]

[8 See Vol. I. p. 215, notes 5, 6.]

[9 das höchste oberist güt, German, omitted; the highest good over all.]

not much unlike to the ancient name whereby the Egyptians called God; for they called God *Theuth*, or *Thoth*: now if we for *Th* put *G*, then is it *Goth*, and we say, *Gott*.

The Lord himself, in the sixth chapter of Exodus, putteth these two names[1] together, *Schaddai* and *Jehovah*, as two of the most excellent names that he hath, and saith: "I am Jehovah. And I appeared to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, as God Schaddai: but in my name Jehovah I was not known unto them." Not that the patriarchs had not heard or known the name[2] Jehovah: for that name began to be called upon in the time of Seth, immediately after the beginning of the world. Therefore it seemeth that the Lord meant thus in effect: "I opened myself unto the patriarchs as God Schaddai, who am able in all things sufficiently to fill them with all goodness; and therefore I promised them a land that floweth with milk and honey: but in my name Jehovah I was not yet known unto them, that is, I did not perform unto them that which I promised." For we have heard already, that he is called Jehovah of that which he maketh to be; and therefore he bringeth his promise to performance. "Now therefore" (saith he) "I will indeed fulfil my promise, and shew myself to be, not only *Deum Schaddai*, an all-sufficient or almighty God[3], but also to be Jehovah, an essence or being eternal, immutable, true, and in all things like myself, or standing to my promise[4]."

Gen. iv.

Last of all we read in the third of Exodus that God said to Moses: "Thus shalt thou say to the children of Israel, The Lord God of our[5] fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, hath sent me unto you. This is my name for ever, and this is my memorial from one generation unto another." So then here now we have another name of God; for he will be called the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob. "This," saith he, "shall be my memorial from one generation unto another; to wit, wherein I will keep in memory my benefits bestowed upon those patriarchs, that by them the posterity may know me and remember me." For when we hear the names of those patriarchs, they do put us in mind of all the excellent and

The God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

[1 vocabula sua, Lat.; his names.]
[2 nomen Dei, Lat.]
[3 an all—God, not in Lat.]
[4 or—promise, not in Lat.]
[5 vestrorum, Lat.]

innumerable benefits which God bestowed on our forefathers[6]: which are not in vain with so great diligence peculiarly reckoned up of Moses in[7] his first book called Genesis. For he will be our God, even as he was theirs, if so be we do believe in him as they did believe. For to us that believe he will be both Schaddai and Jehovah, eternal and immutable truth, being, life, and heaped-up store of all manner good things.

And now by the way, it is not without a mystery that, when he is the God also of other patriarchs, as of Adam, Seth, Enos, and especially of Enoch and Noah, yet out of all the number of them he picked those three, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and to every one of their names prefixed severally his own name[8], saying: "I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob." For so he did evidently teach the mystery of the Trinity in the unity of the divine substance, and that every one of the persons is of the same divinity, majesty and glory; that is, that the Father is very God, the Son very God, and the Holy Ghost very God; and that these three are one God; for he saith, "I am God, &c." Of which I will speak in place convenient. Trinity.

Thus much hitherto concerning the names of God, out of which an indifferent knowledge of God may easily be gathered. I know that one Dionysius[9] hath made a busy commentary upon the names of God: but I know too, that the godly sort, and those that are studious of the apostles' doctrine do understand, that the disciples of the apostles did far more simply handle matters belonging unto religion. I know that other do make account of seventy-two names of God out of the scriptures and books of the Cabalists, which as I have in another place rehearsed[10], so will I hereafter out of Exodus[11] repeat to you the chiefest of them. Dionysius, of the names of God.

Secondarily, God is in the word of God exhibited to be seen, to be beheld, and to be known by visions and divine Visions and prosopography of God.

[6 ipsis, Lat.; on them.] [7 per, Lat.; throughout.]

[8 id est, Dei nomen, Lat. omitted; that is, the name of God.]

[9 Dionys. Areop. ad Timoth. episc. Ephes. lib. de div. nom. This work is spurious: it is supposed to have been written in the fourth or fifth century.]

[10 Bulling. de Orig. Error. cap. I. fol. 6.]

[11 ex Exodi 34. cap. Lat.]

Prosopography is a picturing or representing of bodily lineaments.

Prosopopœia is where those are brought in to speak that do not speak.

mirrors, as it were in a certain parable, while by *Prosopography*, *Prosopopœia*, or mortal shapes[1] he is set[2] before our eyes. And yet we are warned not to stick upon those visible things, but to lift up our minds from visible things to things invisible and spiritual. For neither is God bodily in his own substance, because he is in visions exhibited to us in a bodily shape like a man; neither did any of the old saints before the birth of Christ express God in the shape and picture of a mortal man, because God had in that shape exhibited himself to be seen of the patriarchs and prophets.

Anthropomorphites.

It is the doating error of the Anthropomorphites[3] to say, that God is bodily, and that he hath members like to a mortal man. And that no man do in this case deceive himself, by attributing falsely to God the thing that is against his honour, I will here, instead of a remedy against that poison, recite unto you, dearly beloved, the words of St Augustine, which he out of the pure understanding of the holy scriptures and assured testimonies of[4] catholic true doctors writ to Fortunatus, *De Videndo Deo*, against the Anthropomorphites.

How members are attributed to God who is bodiless.

"Concerning the members of God (saith he), which the scripture doth in every place make mention of, know this; that, lest any man should believe that, according to the fashion and figure of this flesh we are like to God, the same scripture did also say that God hath wings, which it is manifest that we men have not. Therefore even as, when we hear wings named, we understand God's protection and defence; so when we hear of hands, we must understand his operation; when we hear mention made of feet, we must understand his present readiness; when we hear the name of eyes, we must understand his sight, whereby he seeth and knoweth all things: and when we hear of his face, we must understand his justice, whereby he is known to all the world: and whatsoever else like unto this the same scripture doth make mention of, I believe verily that it must be understood spiritually. Neither do I alone, or am I the first, that think thus; but even all they also which even with a mean understanding of the scriptures do withstand the opinion of them that are, for that cause, called Anthropo-

[1 aut icones, Lat.] [2 quasi, Lat. omitted; as it were.]
[3 See Vol. I. p. 225, note 9.]
[4 aliorum, Lat. omitted; of other.]

morphites. Out of whose writing because I will not cite over much, to cause too long a stay, I do here mean to allege one testimony out of St Hierome. For when that man, most excellently learned in the holy scriptures, expounded the Psalm, where it is said, 'Understand, ye unwise among the people; ye fools, at length be wise: he that planted the ear, shall he not hear; or he that made the eye, shall he not see?' [he] did among other things say: 'This place doth most of all make against the Anthropomorphites, which say that God hath members even as we have. As for example, he is said to have eyes: The eyes of the Lord behold all things; the hand of the Lord maketh all things. And Adam heard (saith he) the sound of the feet of the Lord walking in paradise. They do understand these places simply as the letter lieth, and do refer mortal weakness to the magnificent mightiness of the immortal God. But I say that God is all eye, all hand, and all foot. He is all eye, because he seeth all things; all hand, because he worketh all things; all foot, because he is present everywhere. Therefore mark ye what he saith: 'He that planted the ear, shall he not hear? or he that made the eye, shall he not see?' He said not, therefore hath he no eyes? But he said, 'He that planted the ear, shall he not hear; or he that made the eye, shall he not see?' He made the members, and gave them the efficient powers.'" And a little afterwards the same St Augustine saith: "In all this which I have cited out of the saints and doctors, Ambrose, Hierome, Athanasius, Gregory (Nazianzene), and whatsoever else like these of other men's doings I could ever read or come by (which I think to be too long here severally to rehearse), I find that God is not a body, or that he hath members like to a man; neither that he is divided by the distance of places, but by nature unchangeably invisible. And I do in the help of God without wavering believe, and so far as he giveth me grace I do understand, that not by the same invisible nature and substance, but by a visible shape taken unto him, he appeared, as it pleased him to them to whom he did appear, when in the holy scriptures he is reported to have been seen with corporal eyes." Thus much out of Augustine[5].

Psal. xciv.

These words of Hierome are taken out of Tertullian.

[5 Nam de membris Dei quæ assidue scriptura commemorat, ne quisquam secundum carnis hujus formam et figuram nos esse crederet

To these now I will also add the words of Tertullian, a very ancient ecclesiastical writer, in his excellent book *De Trinitate.* "By members (saith he), are shewed the efficient powers of God, not the bodily fashion of God, or corporal lineaments. For when the eyes are described, it is set down because he seeth all things; and when the ear is named, it is therefore named because he heareth all things; and when the finger is mentioned, then is there a certain signification

similes Deo, propterea et eadem scriptura et alas habere Deum dixit, quas nos utique non habemus. Sicut ergo alas cum audimus, protectionem intelligimus; sic et cum audimus manus, operationem intelligere debemus; et cum audimus pedes, præsentationem; et cum audimus oculos, visionem qua cognoscitur (Bullinger read, *cognoscit*); et cum audimus faciem, justitiam qua innotescit: et si quid aliud eadem scriptura tale commemorat, puto spiritaliter intelligendum. Neque hoc ego tantum, aut ego prior; sed omnes qui qualicunque spiritali intelligentia resistunt eis qui ob hoc anthropomorphitæ nominantur. Ex quorum literis ne multa commemorando majores moras faciam, hoc unum sancti Hieronymi interpono . . . Cum ergo ille vir, in scripturis doctissimus, psalmum exponeret ubi dictum est, Intelligite ergo, qui insipientes estis in populo, et stulti aliquando sapite; Qui plantavit aurem non audiet? aut qui finxit oculum non considerat?—inter cetera, Iste locus, inquit, adversus eos maxime facit qui anthropomorphitæ sunt, qui dicunt Deum habere membra quæ etiam nos habemus. Verbi causa, dicitur Deus habere oculos: Oculi Domini aspiciunt omnia; manus Domini facit omnia: et, Audivit, inquit, Adam sonum pedum Domini deambulantis in paradiso. Hæc simpliciter audiunt, et humanas imbecillitates ad Dei magnificentiam referunt. Ego autem dico, quod Deus totus oculus est, totus manus est, totus pes est: totus oculus est, quia omnia videt; totus manus est, quia omnia operatur; totus pes est, quia ubique est. Ergo videte quid dicat: Qui plantavit aurem non audiet? aut qui finxit oculos non considerat? Et non dixit, Qui plantavit aurem, ergo ipse aurem non habet? non dixit, Ergo ipse oculos non habet? Sed quid dixit? Qui plantavit aurem non audiet? qui finxit oculos non considerat? Membra tulit, efficientias dedit . . . Denique in iis omnibus quæ de opusculis sanctorum atque doctorum commemoravi, Ambrosii, Hieronymi, Athanasii, Gregorii, et si qua aliorum talia legere potui, quæ commemorare longum putavi, Deum non esse corpus, nec formæ humanæ habere membra, nec eum esse per locorum spatia divisibilem, et esse natura incommutabiliter invisibilem; nec per eandem naturam atque substantiam, sed assumpta visibili specie, sicut voluit, apparuisse iis quibus apparuit, quando per corporis oculos in scripturis sanctis visus esse narratur, in adjutorio Domini inconcusse credo, et quantum ipse donat intelligo.—August. ad Fortunat. Ep. CXI. Opp. Tom. II. fol. 101. col. 4. Par. 1531.]

of his mind declared; and when the nose-thrills are spoken of, the receiving of prayers, as of sweet smells is thereby notified; and when the hand is talked of, it argueth that he is the author of all creatures; and when the arm is specified, thereby is declared that no nature can withstand the power of God; and when the feet are named, that putteth us in mind, that God filleth all things, and that there is nothing where he is not present. For neither members nor the offices of members are necessary to him, to whose will only, without any words, all things obey and are ready at hand. For why should he require eyes, which is himself the light? Or why should he seek for feet, which is himself present everywhere? Or how should he go in, since that there is nowhere for him to go out from himself? Or why should he wish for a hand, whose will without words doth work all things? Neither doth he need ears, that knoweth the very secret thoughts. Or wherefore should he lack a tongue, whose only thinking is a commanding? For these members were necessary to men, and not to God; because the counsel of men should be of none effect, unless the body did fulfil the thoughts: but to God they are not needful, whose will the very works do not only follow without all stirring business, but do even immediately with his will proceed and go forward. But he is all eye, because he wholly seeth: he is all ear, because he wholly heareth: he is all hand, because he wholly worketh; and all foot, because he is wholly everywhere. For whatsoever is simple, that hath not in itself any diversity of itself. For those things fall into a diversity of members, whatsoever are born unto dissolution; but the things that are not compact together cannot feel [1]diversity[2]." And so as followeth: for all these hitherto are the words of Tertullian.

[1] In ed. 1577 diversity is placed within brackets.]

[2] Efficaciæ igitur ibi divinæ per membra monstrantur: non habitus Dei, nec corporalia lineamenta ponuntur. Nam et cum oculi describuntur, quod omnia videat exprimitur; et quando auris, quod omnia audiat proponitur; et cum digitus, significantia quædam voluntatis aperitur; et cum nares, precum quasi odorum perceptio ostenditur; et cum manus, quod creaturæ sit omnis auctor probatur; et quando brachium, quod nulla natura contra robur ipsius repugnare possit edicitur; et quando pedes, quod impleat omnia, nec sit quicquam ubi non sit Deus, explicatur. Neque enim sunt ei aut membra aut mem-

How the patriarchs did see God.

Therefore when we read that Moses did see God face to face, and that Jacob, Israel, and the prophets saw God plainly and not obscurely; thereby is meant, that to them was exhibited a vision most manifest, effectual, and very familiar. For truly said Theodoretus, the bishop of Cyrus: "We say that the fathers did not see the divine nature or substance, which cannot be circumscribed, comprehended, or perceived in the mind of man, but doth itself comprehend all things: but we say that they saw a certain glory and certain visions, which were answerable to their capacity, and did not pass the measure of the same[1]." For these assured sentences of the holy scripture do always remain most true: "No man did ever see God at any time." "God dwelleth in the light that no man can attain unto, whom no man hath seen nor can see;" and again, "No man shall see my face, and live;" that is, so long as he liveth upon this earth in the corruption and imperfection of this our flesh no man shall behold the essence of God, which is eternal and light that cannot be looked upon. For when we are once delivered from this corruption and are clarified, then shall we see

John i. 1 Tim. vi.

Exod. xxxiii.

brorum officia necessaria, ad cujus solum etiam tacitum arbitrium et serviunt et adsunt omnia. Cur enim requirat oculos, qui lux est? Aut cur quærat pedes, qui ubique est? cur ingredi velit, cum non sit quo extra se progredi possit? aut cur manus expetat, cujus mens ad omnia instituenda artifex est, et silens voluntas? Nec auribus eget, qui etiam tacitas novit voluntates. Aut propter quam causam linguam quærat, cui cogitare jussisse est? Necessaria enim hæc membra hominibus fuerunt, non Deo; quia inefficax hominis consilium fuisset, nisi cogitamen corpus implesset: Deo autem non necessaria, cujus voluntatem non tantum sine aliqua molitione opera subsequuntur, sed ipsa statim opera cum voluntate procedunt. Ceterum ipse totus oculus, quia totus videt: et totus auris, quia totus audit: et totus manus, quia totus operatur: et totus pes, quia totus ubique est. Non enim habet in se diversitatem sui, quicquid est simplex. Ea enim demum in diversitatem membrorum recidunt, quæ veniunt ex nativitate in dissolutionem. Sed hæc, quæ concreta non sunt, sentire non possunt.—Novat. de Trin. Lib. apud Tertull. Opp. Par. 1664, p. 710.]

[1 *Ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ λογισμοῖς εὐσεβέσι χρησάμενοι, καὶ ταῖς ἀποφάσεσι ταῖς θείαις πιστεύοντες, αἳ βοῶσι διαῤῥήδην, Θεὸν οὐδεὶς ἑώρακε πώποτε, φαμὲν αὐτοὺς οὐ τὴν θείαν φύσιν ἑωρακέναι, ἀλλ' ὄψεις τινὰς τῇ σφῶν δυνάμει συμμέτρους . . . οὕτω τοίνυν καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων νοήσομεν . . . οὐ γὰρ τὴν θείαν οὐσίαν ὁρῶσι τὴν ἀπερίγραπτον, τὴν ἀκατάληπτον, τὴν ἀπερινόητον, τὴν περιληπτικὴν τῶν ὅλων, ἀλλὰ δόξαν τινὰ τῇ αὐτῶν φύσει συμμετρουμένην.*—Theodoret. Opp. Dial. I. p. 15. Tom. IV. Lut. Par. 1642.]

him as he is. Therefore God is said to have been seen of the fathers, not according to the fulness of his divinity, but according to the capacity of men.

God did do all things with the fathers by his Son.

Tertullian thinketh that all things in the old Testament were done of God the Father by the Son, who, taking upon him a competent shape, appeared to men and spake unto the fathers. Paul in the beginning of his Epistle to the Hebrews doth significantly speak of the Son of God incarnate, not denying absolutely that the Father did ever any thing by the Son. Tertullian saith: "To the Son was given all power in heaven and in earth. But that power could not be of all things, unless it were of every time. Therefore it is the Son that always descended to talk with men, from Adam unto the patriarchs and prophets, in vision, in dream, in a mirror, and in oracle. So always it pleased God to be conversant in the earth with men, being none other than the Word which afterward was to be made flesh. And it pleased him so to make a way for us to faith, that we might the more easily perceive that the Son of God descended into the world, and that we might know that such a thing was done[2]." And so as followeth; for all these are the words of Tertullian. After this premonition we will now add the visions of God's majesty exhibited to holy men.

God shadowed in visions.

God exhibited to his servants many and sundry visions, wherein he after a manner did shadow forth his majesty unto them: all which visions it would be too long a labour for me to rehearse and expound unto you. Ye shall find the most notable ones, Exodus xix, Esay vi, Ezechiel i, Daniel vii, and in the Apocalypse of the blessed evangelist and apostle John: it is sufficient to have put you in mind of them. But now the most renowned and excellent one of

[2 Omnem dicens potestatem, et omne judicium, et omnia per eum facta, et omnia tradita in manu ejus, nullam exceptionem temporis permittit, quia omnia non erunt, si non omnis temporis fuerint. Filius itaque . . . ad humana semper colloquia descendit, ab Adam usque ad patriarchas et prophetas, in visione, in somno, in speculo, in ænigmate: ordinem suum præstruens ab initio semper quæ erat persecuturus infinita, semper ediscebat, et Deus in terris cum hominibus conversari, non alius quam Sermo qui caro erat futurus. Ediscebat autem, ut nobis fidem sterneret, ut facilius crederemus Filium Dei descendisse in seculum, et retro tale quid gestum cognosceremus.—Tertull. Adv. Prax. cap. 16. Tom. II. pp. 176, 177. ed. Semler.]

them all I will here recite and handle at large. It is to be seen in the thirty-third and thirty-fourth chapters of Exodus.

Moses desireth to see God in his majesty and glory.

Moses had trial of the facility and goodness of God, and that there was nothing which he obtained not at God's hand: therefore he taketh upon him boldly to ask this also of the Lord, to see God in his substance, glory, and majesty; which thing all the true wise men of every age did only wish and long for. For Moses saith: "Because I understand that thou, O God, wishest well[1] unto me, and that thou canst deny nothing; go to, I beseech thee, shew me thy glory:" that is, suffer me, I pray thee, to see thee so as thou art in thy glorious substance and majesty. Now God answering to this request, which is the greatest of all other, doth say unto him: "I will make all my good to pass by before thee, and I will cry the name of the Lord, or in the name of the Lord[2], before thee." In which words he promiseth two things to Moses. The one is, "All my good shall pass by before thee." But this chief good of God can be nothing else than the good and mighty God himself, or rather, the Word of God, I say, the very beloved Son of God, in whom we believe that all the treasures of wisdom, divinity, goodness, and perfectness are placed and laid up. For he set before Moses' eyes the shew of him in a human and visible shape, such in sight as he in the end of the world should be incarnate in. The other thing that he promised is, "I will cry the name of the Lord, or, in the name of the Lord, before thee;" that is, I will proclaim the names of my glory, by which thou mayest understand who I am, and see me in thy mind.

God giveth his gifts freely without respect of man's merits.

But now, that no man should attribute so excellent a vision to the merit of Moses, the Lord doth add this sentence following: 'This vision doth not happen to thee because of thine own merit. For without man's merits I reveal myself to whom I will, and without respect of persons will have compassion on whom it pleaseth me;' which consideration of the free grace and liberal goodness of God doth greatly belong to the true knowledge of God. Then the Lord goeth to again, and doth more significantly declare to Moses

[1 peroptime, Lat.]

[2 בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה, Exod. xxxiii. 19. in nomine Domini, Vulgate.]

in what manner and order he will exhibit or shew himself unto him. "Thou mayest not (saith he) in this life see my face;" that is, thou mayest not fully see me in my substance; for that is reserved for the blessed spirits and clarified bodies in the world to come. I will therefore in this fashion shew myself unto thee. Thou shalt go up into the mountain; there in a rock I will shew thee a clift, wherein thou shalt place thyself: and I will lay mine hand upon thee, that is, a cloud, or some such thing, that, as I come toward thee, thou mayest not look directly in my face. In that phrase of speech the Lord doth imitate the fashion of men, whose order is to spread their hands over the eyes of him whom they would not have narrowly to behold any thing. The Lord then addeth: And in the mean while I will pass by; that is, the image which I take, to wit, the shape of a man, wherein I will exhibit myself to be seen, shall pass by before thee. And when I am once past, so that thou canst not see my face, I will take away the hand wherewith I hid thine eyes, and then thou shalt behold the back of the figure, or my hinder parts. Now the hinder parts of God are the words and deeds of God, which he leaveth behind him that we by them may learn to know him. Again, the beholding of God's face is taken for the most exact and exquisite knowledge of God; but they that see but the back only do not know so well as they that see the face. And in the hinder or latter times of the world God sent his Son into the world, born of a woman[3]; whom whosoever do in faith behold, they do not see the Godhead in his humanity, but do by his words and deeds know who God is, and so they see the Father in the Son. For they learn that God is the chief good, and that the Son of God is God, being co-equal and of the same substance with the Father.

How God did shew himself to Moses.

Now let us see how God (according to his promise made) did exhibit himself to be seen of Moses. Moses, rising up betimes, ascendeth up into the mountain cheerfully unto the rock which the Lord had shewed him, placing himself in the clift, and looketh greedily for the vision or revelation of God. At length the Lord descended in a cloud, and came upon the mountain unto the clift of the rock wherein Moses stayed for him. And presently, when Moses' face was

[3 Cf. August. de Trinitate. Lib. II. cap. 16.]

hidden, the figure of God, that is, the shape of a man which God took upon him, did pass by before him: and when as now the back of the figure was toward Moses, so that he could no more see the face thereof, the Lord took his hand away, and Moses beheld the hinder parts of the same[1]. Whereby he gathered that God should once, that is to say, in the hinder times of the world, be incarnate and[2] revealed to the world. Of which revelation we will hereafter speak somewhat more. And when the Lord was once gone past, he cried, and as his promise was, so in a certain catalogue he reckoned up his names, whereby, as in a shadow, he did declare his nature. For he said, "Jehovah, Jehovah, God, merciful and gracious, long-suffering, and abounding in goodness and truth; keeping mercy in store for thousands, forgiving wickedness, transgression, and sin: and yet not suffering the wicked to escape unpunished, visiting the wickedness of the fathers upon the children and children's children, unto the third and fourth generation." What else is this than if he had said 'I am the uncreated essence, being of myself from before all beginning, which giveth being to all things, and keepeth all things in being; I am a strong and almighty God; I do not abuse my might, for I am gentle and merciful; I love my creatures, and man especially, on whom I do wholly yearn in the bowels of love and mercy; I am rich and bountiful, and ready at all times to help my creatures; I do freely, without recompence, give all that I bestow; I am long-suffering, and not irritable to anger, and hasty to revenge, as mankind is; I am no niggard or envious, as wealthy men in the world are wont to be; I am most liberal and bountiful, rejoicing to be divided among my people, and to heap up benefits upon the faithful: Moreover, I am true and faithful; I deceive no man, I lie in nothing; what I promise, that I stand to, and faithfully perform it: Neither do I nor can I so waste my riches[3], that all at length is spent, and I myself drawn dry; for I keep good turns in store for a thousand generations, so that although the former age did live never so wealthily with my riches, yet they that come and are born even until the very end of the world shall nevertheless find in me so much as shall suffice

What God is.

[1 Domini, Lat.; of the Lord.] [2 atque ita, Lat.; and so.]
[3 spargens in homines, Lat. omitted; scattering them upon men.]

and satisfy their desire; for I am the well-spring of good that cannot be drawn dry; and if any man sin against me and afterward repent him of the same, I am not unappeasable; for even of mine own free-will I do forgive errors, sins, and heinous crimes: and yet let no man therefore think that I am delighted with sins, or that I am a patron of wicked doers; for even I, the same, do punish wicked and impenitent men; and chasten even those that are mine own, that thereby I may keep them in order and office: but let no man think that he shall sin and escape unpunished, because he seeth that his ancestors did sin and were not punished; that is, did sin and were not utterly cut off and wiped out[4]; for I reserve revengement till just and full time, and do so behave myself[5], that all are compelled to confess me to be a God of judgment?' Now when Moses the servant of God had heard and seen these things, he made haste, and fell down prostrate to the earth, and worshipped. Let us also do the same, being surely certified that the Lord will not vouchsafe, so long as we live in this transitory world, to reveal himself and his glory any whit more fully and brimly[6], than in Christ his Son exhibited unto us. Let therefore the things that sufficed Moses suffice us also: let the knowledge of Christ suffice and content us.

God doth most evidently open himself through Christ.

For the most evident and excellent way and mean to know God is laid forth before us in Jesu Christ, the Son of God incarnate and made man. For therefore we did even now hear, that before Moses was set the shadow of Christ, when it pleased God most familiarly to reveal himself unto him. And the apostle Paul placeth the illumination or appearing of "the knowledge of the glory of God to be in the face of Jesus Christ." And in another place the same Paul calleth Christ "the brightness of his Father's glory, and the lively image of his substance." Truly he himself in the gospel doth most plainly say, "No man knoweth the Father but the Son, and he to whom the Son will reveal him." For he is the way unto the Father, and the Father is seen and beheld in him. For we do again in the gospel read, "No man hath ever seen God at any time; the only-begotten Son,

2 Cor. iv.

Heb. i.

Matth. xi.

John xiv.

John i.

[4 protinus, Lat. omitted; immediately.]
[5 modis omnibus, Lat. omitted; in all respects.]
[6 brim: public.]

which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath revealed him
1 Cor. i. unto us." But again the apostle saith, "After that in the wisdom of God the world through their wisdom knew not God, it pleased God through foolishness of preaching to save them that believe." That which he in this place calleth the wisdom of God is the very creation and workmanship of the world, and the wonderful works of God, in which God would be known to the world; and in the beating out and considering whereof all the wisdom of all the wise men till then did altogether lie. But for because the consideration of those things did no good, by reason of man's wisdom for the most part referring the causes of things to somewhat else than to God, the true and only mark whereto they should be referred; and while men thought themselves wise,
Rom. i. as the same apostle[1] teacheth us, even in their own reasonings they became fools; it pleased God by another way to be known to the world, to wit, by the foolish preaching of the gospel, which is in very deed most absolute and perfect wisdom, but to the worldly wisdom of mortal men it seemeth foolishness. For it seemeth a foolish thing to the men of this world, that the true and very God, being incarnate or made man, was conversant with us men here in the earth, was in poverty, was hungry, did suffer and die. And yet even this is the way whereby God is most evidently known to the world, together with his wisdom, goodness, truth,
God's wisdom appeareth. righteousness, and power. For the wisdom of God, which no tongue can utter, doth in the whole ministry and wonderful dispensation of Christ shine out very brightly; but far more brimly if we discuss and beat out the causes (of which I spake elsewhere), and throughly weigh the doctrine
God's goodness appeareth. of Christ. In the incarnation of the Son of God it appeareth, how well God wisheth to the world being sunk and drowned in sin, as that to which he is bound by an indissoluble league; and doth through Christ adopt the sons of death and of the devil into the sons and heirs of life everlasting. Now
God's truth appeareth. whereas Christ doth most exactly fulfil all those things which the prophets by the revelation of God did foretell of him, and whereas he doth most liberally perform the things which God the Father did promise of him[2]; that doth declare how

[1 idem doctor gentium, Lat.; the same teacher of the Gentiles.]
[2 in ipso, Lat.; in him.]

unchangeable and true the eternal God is. In the deeds or miracles of Christ our Lord, in his resurrection, in his glorious ascension into heaven, and most plentiful pouring out of his holy Spirit upon his disciples, but especially in converting the whole world from paganism and judaism to the evangelical truth, do appear the power, long-suffering, majesty, and unspeakable goodness of God the Father. In the death of Christ the Son of God doth shine[3] the great justice of God the Father, as that which, being once offended with our sins, could not be pacified but with such and so great a sacrifice. Finally, because he spared not his only-begotten Son, but gave him for us that are his enemies and wicked rebels, even therein is that mercy of his made known to the world, which is very rightly commended above all the works of God. Therefore in the Son, and by the Son, God doth most manifestly make himself manifest to the world; so that whatsoever is needful to be known of God or of his will, and whatsoever is belonging to heavenly and healthful wisdom, that is wholly opened and throughly perceived and seen in the Son. Therefore, when Philip said[4] to Christ, "Lord, shew us the Father, and it sufficeth us;" we read that the Lord answered, "Have I been so long with you, and do ye not yet know[5] me? Philip, he that hath seen me hath seen the Father; and how sayest thou, Shew us the Father? Dost not thou believe, that I am in the Father, and the Father in me?" Now herein he calleth back all the faithful from over-curious searching after God, laying before them the mystery of the dispensation wherein he would have us to rest and to content ourselves, namely in that that God was made man. Therefore whosoever desire to see and know God truly, let them cast the eyes of their mind upon Christ, and believe the mystery of him contained in words and deeds, learning by them what and who God is. For God is such an one as he exhibiteth himself[6] to be known in Christ, and in that very knowledge he doth appoint eternal life to be, where he saith: "And this is eternal life, that they might know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent." Let him that wisheth well to himself take heed

God's power and long-suffering appeareth to the world.

God's justice appeareth.

God's mercy appeareth.

John xiv.

John xvii.

[3 maxime, Lat. omitted; most especially.]
[4 roganti, Lat.; asked.] [5 cognovistis, Lat. and Vulgate.]
[6 nobis, Lat. omitted; to us.]

that he go not about to know any more than God himself doth teach us in Christ. But whosoever, neglecting Christ, doth follow the rule and subtilties of man's wit, he verily doth come to nought and perish in his thoughts.

God is known by his works. Psal. xix.

The fourth mean to know God by is fetched out of the contemplation of his works. David saith, "The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament sheweth forth the works of his hands." And the apostle Paul saith, "His invisible things, being understanded by his works through the creation of the world, are seen, that is, both his eternal power and Godhead." Lo, the power and Godhead of God are these invisible things of God; and yet they are understood by the consideration of God's works: therefore even God himself is known by the works of God. But now the works of God are doubly considered, or be of two sorts. For either they are laid before us to be beheld in things created for the behoof of men, as in heaven and in earth, and in those things that are in heaven and in earth, and are governed and preserved by the providence of God; of which sort are the stars and the motions or courses of the stars, the influence of heaven, the course[1] of time, living creatures of all kinds, trees, plants, fruits of the earth, the sea and whatsoever is therein, stones, and whatsoever things are hid within and digged out of the earth for the use of men. Of these St Basil and St Ambrose have written very learnedly and godly in their books intituled, "The work of six days," the which they called *Hexaëmeron*[2]. Here may be inserted that history of nature, which the glorious and worthy king David doth in the Psalms, especially after the hundredth psalm, most fitly apply to our purpose. But lest we should entangle and make intricate the course of this present treatise, I will hereafter speak of the creation of the world, and of God's government and providence in the same. At this present it shall suffice to know[3], that heaven and earth and all that is therein do declare to us, and set as it were before our eyes, an evident argument that God, as he is most wise, is also most mighty, wonderful, of an infinite majesty, of an incom-

Rom. i.

The works of God are two ways considered.

Psal. civ.

[1 vicissitudo, Lat.]

[2 Basil. Opp. Tom. I. pp. 1—87. Par. 1721. Ambros. Opp. Tom. I. pp. 2—142. Par. 1686.]

[3 agnoscere, Lat.; to acknowledge.]

prehensible glory, most just, most gracious, and most excellent[4]. Esay therefore, a faithful teacher of the church, giving good counsel for the state of mortal men, doth say unto them[5]: "Lift up your eyes on high, and consider who hath made these things that come forth by heaps[6], calling them all by their names; whose strength is so great, that none of them doth fail." For although that even from the beginning the stars have shined to the world, and have in their course performed that for which they were created; yet are they not worn by use, nor by continuance[7] consumed away or darkened ought at all; for by the power of their maker they are preserved whole. Jeremy also crieth: "O Lord, there is none like unto thee. Thou art great, and great is thy name with power. Who would not fear thee, O king of the Gentiles? For thine is the glory: for among all the wise men of the heathen, and in all their kingdoms, there is none that may be likened unto thee." And immediately after again: "The Lord God is a true and living God and king[8]: if he be wroth, the earth shaketh, neither can the Gentiles abide his indignation. He made the earth with his power; with his wisdom doth he order the whole compass of the world; and with his discretion hath he spread the heavens out. At his voice the waters gathered together in the air[9]; he draweth up the clouds from the uttermost parts of the earth; he turneth lightning to rain, and bringeth the winds out of their treasures[10]."

Isai. xl.

Jer. x.

Or else the works of God are set forth for us to behold in man, the very lord and prince of all creatures: not so much in the workmanship or making of man, which Lactantius and Andreas Wesalius[11] have passingly painted out for all men to see; as in the works which toward man, or in man, or by man,

[4 maximum, Lat. omitted; most great.]

[5 optime, Lat. omitted; exceeding well.]

[6 producens in numero exercitum eorum, Lat.; Coverdale's rendering, 1535, is like the translator's.]

[7 vetustate, Lat.]

[8 Deus et rex sempiternus, Lat.; God and an everlasting king.]

[9 ingens aquarum vis in aëre erit, Lat.]

[10 their treasuries, Coverdale, 1535. his treasures, Auth. Ver.]

[11 Lactantii de Opificio Dei, capp. 8—19.—Andrew Vesalius, a celebrated anatomist and physician, born at Brussels about A.D. 1514, wrote a work, De humani corporis fabrica.]

the Lord himself doth finish and bring to pass. For God doth justly punish some men; and by punishing them he doth declare that he knoweth the dealings of mortal men, and hateth all wrong and injury. Upon other he heapeth up very large and ample benefits; and in being bountiful unto them he declareth that he is rich, yea, that he is the fountain of goodness that cannot be drawn dry, that he is bountiful, good, merciful, gentle, and long-suffering. Hereof there are innumerable examples in the history of the Bible. Cain, for the murder committed upon his brother, lived here in earth a miserable and wretched life: for the just Lord doth revenge the blood-shed of the innocent. The first world was drowned in the deluge[1]; a plague was laid on it for the contempt of God; but Noah and his were saved in the ark by the mercy of God. God bringeth Abraham from Ur of the Chaldees, and placeth him in the land of Canaan, blessing and loading him with all manner of goods. He doth wonderfully keep Jacob in all his troubles and infinite calamities. Through great afflictions he lifteth up Joseph from the prison[2] unto the throne of Egypt: he doth grievously plague the Egyptians for the tyranny shewed in oppressing Israel, and for the contempt of his commandment. But it would be too long and tedious to make a beadrow of all the examples. Now by these and such like works of God we learn who, and how great, our God is, how wise he is, how good, how mighty, how liberal, how just and rightful; and withal we learn that we must believe and in all things obey him. For Asaph saith: "The things that we have heard and known, and such as our fathers have told us, those we will not hide from our sons; but will shew to the generations to come the praise of the Lord, his mighty and wonderful works which he hath done: that the children which are born, when they come to age, may shew their children the same; that they may put their trust in God, and not forget the works of God, but keep his commandments." And so as followeth in the seventy-eighth Psalm.

Psal. lxxviii.

God is shadowed to us by comparisons.

Another way to know God by, next to this, is that which is gathered upon comparisons: for the scripture doth compare all the most excellent things in the world with God,

[1 immisso cœlitus, Lat. omitted; which was sent from heaven.]
[2 from the prison, not in Lat.]

whom it preferreth before them all; so that we may thereby gather, that God is the chief good, and that his majesty is incomprehensible. This one place of Esay may stand instead of many, where in the fortieth chapter he saith: "Who hath measured the waters with his fist? Who hath measured heaven with his span? Who hath held the dust of the earth betwixt three fingers[3], and weighed the mountains[4] and hills in a balance? Who hath directed the Spirit of the Lord? Who gave him counsel? Who taught him? Who is of his counsel, to instruct him? Behold, all people are in comparison of him as a drop of a bucket-full, and counted as the least thing that the balance weigheth. Yea, he shall cast out the isles as the smallest crumb of dust. Libanus were not sufficient to minister him wood to burn, nor the beasts thereof were enough for one sacrifice unto him. All people in comparison of him are reckoned as nothing; and if they be compared with him, they are counted as less than nothing. Understand ye not this? hath it not been preached unto you since the beginning? have ye not been taught this by[5] the foundation of the earth? It is he that sitteth upon the circle of the world, whose inhabiters are (in comparison of him) but as grasshoppers. He spreadeth out the heavens as a covering, and stretcheth them out as a tent to dwell in. He bringeth princes to nothing, and maketh the judges of the earth as though they were not[6]." And so forth. To this place now do belong the *Prosopopeial* speeches of God, of which thou shalt find sundry and many, beside the visions which we placed in the second way or mean to know God. But the most excellent are extant in the eighteenth Psalm, and in the fifth chapter of Salomon's Ballad[7]: both which I pass over untouched, because I mean not to stay you too long; for we must descend to the other points.

Isai. xl.

Isai. xl.

Last of all, God is known by the sayings or sentences uttered by the mouths of the prophets and apostles; of which sort is that notable speech of Jeremy[8], where he saith:

God is learned by the sayings and sentences of the pro-

[3] So Vulgate and Coverdale, 1535.]

[4] in statera, Lat. omitted; in scales.]

[5] a, Lat.; from; since, Coverdale, 1535.]

[6] ut sint inanes, Lat.]

[7] Salomon's Balettes, called Cantica Canticorum; Coverdale, 1535. See Fulke's Defence, &c. ed. Parker Soc. pp. 571, 572.]

[8] beati Jeremiæ, Lat.]

phets and apostles. Jer. ix.

"Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, nor the strong man in his strength, nor the rich man in his riches[1]: but let him that glorieth glory in this, that he understandeth and knoweth me, that I am the Lord, and do mercy, judgment, and righteousness upon earth: therefore am I delighted in such things alone, saith the Lord." Now by the mercy of God we are saved, and adorned with sundry great benefits; by his judgment he punisheth the wicked and disobedient according to their deserts, and therewithal he keepeth equity: even as also his righteousness doth truly perform that which he promiseth. Therefore we say that God is a Saviour, a liberal giver of all good things, an upright Judge, and assured truth in performing his promises.

God is one in essence, or being.

And hither now is to be referred the doctrine of the prophets and apostles, which teacheth that to be the true knowledge of God, that acknowledgeth God to be one in essence, and three in persons. Concerning the unity of the divine essence (by the allegation whereof the plurality of the heathen gods are utterly rejected and flatly condemned), I will cite those testimonies out of the holy scripture that seem to be more evident and excellent than all the other, which are in number so many that a man can hardly reckon them all. The notablest is that which is grounded upon the prophetical and evangelical authority, and, being cited out of the sixth chapter of Deuteronomy, is in the twelfth of Mark set down in these words: "Jesus said, The first of all the commandments is, Hearken, Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord. And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, with all thy mind, and with all thy strength. This is the first commandment. And the second like this is, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. There is none other commandment greater than these." It followeth now in the gospel: "And the Scribe said, Well, Master, thou hast said the truth; that there is one God, and that there is none other but he; and that to love him with all the heart, with all the mind, with all the soul, and with all the strength, and to love a man's neighbour as himself, is greater than all the burnt-offerings and sacrifices." With this testimony also do all the other notable ones agree, that

Deut. vi. Mark xii.

[1 neque glorietur, Lat.; repeated in these two sentences, but omitted by the translator.]

are in the law. For in the twentieth of Exodus we read, that the Lord himself with his own mouth did in mount Sina say: "I am the Lord thy God, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage; have thou none other gods but me[2]." Again, Moses in the end of his song bringeth in God saying: "See now how that I, I am God, and there is none other God but I. I kill, and make alive again: I wound, and I heal, neither is there any that can deliver out of my hand." With the testimonies in the law do those of the prophets also agree. For David in the eighteenth Psalm saith: "The way of God is an undefiled way, the word of the Lord also is tried in the fire. He is the defender of all them that put their trust in him. For who is God but the Lord? or who hath any strength[3] except our God?" There are of this sort many other places in the volume of the Psalms. The Lord in Esay and by Esay crieth and saith: "I am the Lord, Hu[4] is my name, and my glory will I not give unto any other, nor mine honour to graven images." "I am the first and the last, and beside me there is no God. And who is like to me? (If any be), let him call forth and openly shew the thing that is past, and lay before me what hath chanced since I appointed the people of the world[5]; and let him tell what shall happen hereafter, and come to pass." "I the Lord do all things, I spread out the heavens alone, and I only have laid forth the earth by myself. I make the tokens of witches of none effect, and make the soothsayers fools. As for the wise, I turn them backward, and make their wisdom foolishness. I set up the word of my servant, and do fulfil the counsels of my messengers." "I am the Lord, and there is else none; which createth[6] light and darkness, and maketh peace and trouble: yea, even I the Lord do all these things." To these testimonies of the prophets we will now add one or two out of Saint Paul, the great instructor and apostle of the Gentiles. He in his Epistle to Timothy saith: "There is one God, and one mediator of God and men, the man Christ Jesus." And again he saith: "One Lord, one faith,

Exod. xx.

Deut. xxxii.

Psal. xviii.

Isai. xlii.

Or, this is my name.

Isai. xliv.

Isai. xlv.

1 Tim. ii.

Ephes. iv.

[2 coram me, Lat.; before me.]
[3 quis est petra, Lat.; who is a rock, Auth. Ver.]
[4 See above, page 132.] [5 populum seculi, Lat.]
[6 created, ed. 1577.]

one baptism, one God and Father of all, which is above all, and through all, and in you all." Again, the same apostle
I Cor. viii. to the Corinthians saith: "There is none other God but one. And though there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or in earth, (as there be gods many, and lords many;) yet unto us there is but one God, even the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him." Now I suppose these divine testimonies are evident enough, and do sufficiently prove that God in substance is one, of essence incomprehensible, eternal, and spiritual.

In the one essence of God there is a distinction of persons.

But under the one essence of the Godhead the holy scripture doth shew us a distinction of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Now note here, that I call it a distinction, not a division or a separation. For we adore and worship no more Gods but one: so yet that we do neither confound, nor yet deny to take away [1], the three subsistences or persons of the divine essence, nor the properties of the same. Noetus (Anoetus in very deed,) and Sabellius the Libyan, a godless, bold, and very rude ass, of whom sprang up the gross heresy of the Patripassians, taught that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost did import no distinction in God, but that they were diverse attributes of God. For they said that God is none otherwise called the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, than when he is named good, just, gentle, omnipotent, wise, &c. They said, the Father created the world; the same in the name of the Son took flesh and suffered; and again, in changing his name, he was the Holy Ghost that came upon the disciples. But the true, prophetical, and apostolical faith doth expressly teach, that the names of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost do shew to us what God is in his own proper nature. For naturally and eternally God is the Father, because he did from before beginnings unspeakably beget the Son. The same God is naturally the Son, because he was from before beginnings begotten of the Father. The same God is naturally the Holy Ghost, because he is the eternal Spirit of them both, proceeding from both [2], being one and the same God both with them [3].

Noetus is as much to say, as a man of understanding, which term was the proper name of a man. *Anoetus* signifieth a fool, or one without understanding.

The gross error of the Patrispassians.

[1] negantes auferamus, Lat.; deny or take away, ed. 1577.]
[2] from them both, ed. 1577.]
[3] An error in all the editions for, with them both.]

And when in the scriptures he is called a gentle, good, wise, merciful, and just God, it is not thereby so much expressed what he is in himself, as what a one he doth exhibit himself to us. The same scripture doth openly say, that the Father created all things by the Son: and that the Father descended not into the earth, nor took our flesh upon him, nor suffered for us; for the Son saith, "I went out from the Father, and came into the world; again, I leave the world, and go unto the Father." The same Son falling prostrate in the mount of Olives prayeth, saying, "Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me." Again, in the gospel he saith, "I will pray to the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter[4]." Lo, here he saith, the Father shall give you another Comforter. And yet again, lest by reason of those persons and properties of those persons we should separate or divide the divine nature, the Son in the gospel saith, "I and the Father are one." For when he saith "one," he overthroweth them that separate or rent the divine substance or nature: and when he saith, "We are," and not "I am," therein he refuteth them that do confound the subsistences or persons in the Trinity. Therefore the apostolic and catholic doctrine teacheth and doth confess, that they are three, distinguished in properties; and that of those three there is but one and the same nature, or essence, the same omnipotency, majesty, goodness, and wisdom. For although there be an order in the Trinity, yet can there be no inequality in it at all. None of them is in time before other, or in dignity worthier than other: but of the three there is one Godhead, and they three are one and eternal God.

John xvi.

Matth. xxvi.

John xiv.

John x.

He speaketh plurally.

And the primitive church verily under the apostles, and the times that came next after them, did believe so simply, despising and rejecting curious questions and needless disputations. And even then too did arise pestilent men in the church of God, speaking perverse things, whom the apostle doth upon good cause call "grievous wolves, not sparing the flock." They first brought in[5] very strange and dangerous questions, and sharpened their blasphemous tongues against heaven itself. For they stood in it, that three persons could not be one nature or essence; and therefore that, by naming the Trinity, the Christians worshipped many Gods, even as the heathen do.

A disputation of God sprung up.

Acts xx.

[4 alium paracletum vel consolatorem, Lat.]

[5 contexuerunt, Lat.]

And again, since there can be but one God, they infer consequently, that the same God is Father, Son, and Holy Ghost unto himself. For so it was agreeable that they should doat in folly, whom the word of God did not lead, but the gross imagination of mortal flesh: and God did by these means punish the giant-like boldness of those men, whose minds, being without all reverence and fear of God, did wickedly strive to fasten the sight of the eyes of the flesh upon the very face of God. But the faithful and vigilant overseers and pastors of the churches were compelled to drive such wolves from the folds of Christ's sheep, and valiantly to fight for the sincere and catholic truth, that is, for the Unity and Trinity, for the monarchy and mystery of the dispensation. That strife bred forth divers words, with which it was necessary to hold and bind those slippery merchants[1]. Therefore immediately after the beginning there sprang up the terms of Unity, Trinity, essence, substance, and person. The Greeks for the most part used *ousia*, *hypostasis*, and *prosopon*[2]: which we call essence, subsistence, and person.

What terms were usurped in this disputation.

Of these again there did in the churches spring up new and fresh contentions[3]. They disputed sharply of the essence and subsistence, whether they are the same or sundry things. For Ruffinus Aquileiensis, in the twenty-ninth chapter and first book of his ecclesiastical history, saith: "There was moved a controversy about the difference of substances and subsistences, which the Greeks call οὐσίας and ὑποστάσεις. For some said that substance and subsistence seem to be all one; and because we say not that there are three substances in God, therefore that we ought not to say, that there are three subsistences in him. But on the other side again, they that took substance for one thing and subsistence for another did say, that substance noteth the nature of a thing and the reason whereupon it standeth; but that the subsistence of every person doth shew that very thing which doth subsist[4]."

Essence and substance or subsistence.

[1 homines, Lat.] [2 οὐσία, ὑπόστασις, πρόσωπον, Lat.]

[3 posterioribus annis, Lat. omitted; in after years.]

[4 Sed et de differentia substantiarum et subsistentiarum sermo eis per scripturam motus est. Græci οὐσίας et ὑποστάσεις vocant. Quidam etenim dicebant substantiam et subsistentiam unum videri; et quia tres substantias non dicimus in Deo, nec tres subsistentias dicere debeamus. Alii vero, quibus longe aliud substantia quam subsistentia

Basilius Magnus wrote[5] a learned epistle to his brother Gregory about the difference of essence and subsistence[6]. And Hermius Sozomenus, in the twelfth chapter of his fifth book of Histories, saith: "The bishops of many cities, meeting together at Alexandria do, together with Athanasius and Eusebius Vercellensis, confirm the decrees of Nice, and confess that the Holy Ghost is co-essential with the Father and the Son, and name them the Trinity; and teach that the man, which God the Word took upon him, is to be accounted perfect man, not in body only, but in soul also; even as the ancient doctors of the church did also think. But for because the question about *Ousia* and *Hypostasis* did trouble the churches, and that there were sundry contentions and disputations concerning the difference betwixt them; they seem to me to have determined very wisely, that those names should not at the first presently be used in questions of God; unless it were that, when a man went about to beat down the opinion of Sabellius, he were compelled to use them, lest by lack of words he should seem to call one and the same by three names, when he should understand every one peculiarly in that three-fold distinction[7]." Socrates in the seventh chapter and third book of his History addeth: "But they did not bring into the church a certain new religion devised of them-

significare videbatur, dicebant, quia substantia ipsa rei alicujus naturam rationemque qua constat designet; subsistentia autem uniuscujusque personæ hoc ipsum quod exstat et subsistit, ostendat.—Eccles. Hist. Ruffino autore. Lib. x. cap. 29. ed. Basil. 1539.]

[5 scripsit et, Lat.; also wrote.]

[6 Basil. Opp. Ep. 43. ad Gregorium fratrem de *οὐσίας* et *ὑποστάσεως* differentia. Tom. II. p. 28. Basil. 1540. Or Tom. III. p. 115. Ep. 38. Paris, 1721.]

[7 *Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ πολλῶν πόλεων ἐπίσκοποι συνελθόντες εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἅμα Ἀθανασίῳ καὶ Εὐσεβίῳ τὰ δεδογμένα ἐν Νικαίᾳ κρατύνουσιν· ὁμοούσιόν τε τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα ὡμολόγησαν, καὶ τριάδα ὠνόμασαν· οὐ μόνῳ τε σώματι, ἀλλα καὶ ψυχῇ, τέλειον χρῆναι δοξάζειν ἄνθρωπον, ὃν ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος ἀνέλαβεν, εἰσηγήσαντο, καθὰ καὶ τοῖς πάλαι ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς φιλοσόφοις ἐδόκει. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ περὶ τῆς οὐσίας καὶ ὑποστάσεως ζήτησις τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἐτάραττε, καὶ συχναὶ περὶ τούτων ἔριδες καὶ διαλέξεις ἦσαν, εὖ μάλα σοφῶς μοι δοκοῦσιν ὁρίσαι, μὴ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐθὺς ἐπὶ Θεοῦ τούτοις χρῆσθαι τοῖς ὀνόμασι, πλὴν ἡνίκα τις τὴν Σαβελλίου δόξαν ἐκβάλλειν πειρῷτο· ἵνα μὴ ἀπορίᾳ ὀνομάτων ταὐτὸν δόξῃ τὶς τρισὶ προσηγορίαις καλεῖν, ἀλλ' ἕκαστον ἰδίᾳ νοοῖτο τριχῇ.*—Sozomen, H. E. Lib. v. cap. 12. p. 198. ed. Reading. Cantab. 1720.]

selves, but that which from the beginning even till then the ecclesiastical tradition taught, and prudent Christians did evidently set forth[1]." And so forth.

All things that are to be believed of God are fully contained in the canonical scriptures.

Therefore away with the pope's champions to the place whereof they are worthy, which, when we teach that all points of true godliness and salvation are fully contained and taught in the canonical scriptures, by the way of objection do demand; in what place of the scripture we find the names of Trinity, person, essence, and substance; and finally, where we find that Christ hath a reasonable soul? For although those very words consisting in those syllables are not to be found in the canonical books (which were by the prophets and apostles written in another and not in the Latin tongue), yet the things, the matter, or substance, which those words do signify, are most manifestly contained and taught in those books: which things likewise all and every nation may in their language express, and for their commodity and necessity speak and pronounce them. Away also with all sophisters, which think it a great point of learning to make the reverend mystery of the sacred Trinity dark and intricate with their strange, their curious, and pernicious questions. It is sufficient for the godly, simply, according to the scriptures and the apostles' creed to believe and confess, that there is one divine nature or essence, wherein are the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Neither is it greatly material whether ye call them substances, or subsistences, or persons, so that ye do plainly express the distinction betwixt them, and each one's several properties; confessing so the unity, that yet ye confound not the Trinity, nor spoil the persons of their properties.

Testimonies out of the Gospel to prove the Trinity.

And here now it will do very well[2] out of the scriptures to cite such evident testimonies as may evidently prove the mystery of the Trinity with the distinction and several properties of the three persons. The Lord in the Gospel after [Matt. xxviii. 19, 20.] St Matthew saith: "All power is given to me in heaven and in earth: go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing

[1 Οὐ γὰρ νεαράν τινα θρησκείαν ἐπινοήσαντες εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν εἰσήγαγον, ἀλλὰ ἅπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ παράδοσις ἔλεγε, καὶ ἀποδεικτικῶς παρὰ τοῖς Χριστιανῶν σοφοῖς ἐφιλοσοφεῖτο.—Socrates, H. E. Lib. III. cap. 7. p. 178. ed. Reading.]

[2 præstat, Lat.; it is better.]

them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you." Tertullian, alleging those words against Praxea, saith: "He did last of all command his disciples to baptize into the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost. We are baptized not into one, nor once, but thrice at every name, into every several person[3]." Thus much Tertullian. Now as every several person is severally expressed, so the divinity of them all is therein singularly taught to be one and common to them all, because he biddeth to baptize, not only into the name of the Father, but also of the Son, and[4] the Holy Ghost. The apostle and elected vessel, Paul, doth flatly deny that any man either ought to be, or ever was, baptized[5] into the name of any man which is nothing else but mere man. "Were ye," saith he, "baptized in the name of Paul?" So then the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God, into whose name we are baptized.

Tertullian contra Praxeam.

1 Cor. i.

The same Lord in the Gospel after St John saith: "When the Comforter cometh, whom I will send unto you from the Father, that is, the Spirit of truth, he will lead you into all truth. He shall not speak of himself: but whatsoever he shall hear, that shall he speak. He shall glorify me, for he shall receive of mine, and shall shew unto you. All things that the Father hath are mine: therefore said I unto you, that he shall take of mine, and shew unto you." In these words of the Lord's thou hearest mention made of the person of the Father from whom the Spirit is sent, of the person of the Son which sendeth him, and of the person of the Holy Spirit which cometh unto us. Thou hearest also of the mutual and equal communion of the divinity and all good things betwixt the three persons. For the Holy Ghost speaketh not of himself, but that which he heareth. "He shall," saith the Son, "take of mine." And again: "All things that the Father hath are mine." And therefore what

John xiv. & xvi.

[3 Novissime mandans (Christus) ut tinguerent (discipuli) in Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, non in unum: nam nec semel, sed ter, ad singula nomina in personas singulas tinguimur.—Tertull. adv. Prax. cap. XXVI. Tom. II. p. 199. ed. Semler.]

[4 and of, ed. 1577.]

[5 ab Apostolis, Lat. omitted; by the Apostles.]

things the Son hath, those are the Father's: and the divinity, glory, and majesty of them all is co-equal.

With these most evident speeches do these two manifest testimonies of John[1] Baptist agree. First he saith: "He whom God hath sent doth speak the words of God; for God giveth not the Spirit by measure unto him. The Father loveth the Son, and hath given all things into his hand. He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life, &c." Lo, here again, in the one Godhead thou hearest the three persons distinguished by their properties: for the Father loveth and sendeth the Son, and giveth all things into his hand; the Son is sent, and receiveth all things; but the Holy Ghost is given of the Father, and received of the Son according to fulness. Then again the same Baptist crieth the second time, and saith: "I saw the Spirit descending from heaven like unto a dove, and it abode upon him. And I knew him not: but he that sent me to baptize with water, the same said unto me, Upon whomsoever thou shalt see the Spirit descending, and tarrying still upon him, the same is he which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost. And I saw, and bare record that this is the Son of God." Here again are shewed unto us, as clearly as the day-light, the three persons distinguished and not confounded. For he that sendeth John is the Father: the Holy Ghost is neither the Father, nor the Son, but appeareth upon the head of Christ in the likeness of a dove: and the Son is the Son, not the Father, and that too the Son of the Father, upon whose head the Holy Ghost did abide. And now to this place doth belong the testimony of the Father, uttered from heaven upon his Son Christ. For he saith: "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased." But one and the same cannot be both father and son unto himself. The Father is one, and the Son is one: and yet not divers things, but one and the same God, of one and the same nature. For the Son in one place doth most plainly say: "I and the Father are one, &c."

John iii.

[John i. 32—34.]

Matth. iii. & xvii.

John x.

Moreover, what could be more clearly spoken for the proof of the express distinction and properties of the three persons in the reverend Trinity, than that where the archangel Gabriel in St Luke, declaring the sacrament[2] of the

[1 beatissimi Joannis.]
[2 sacrament: mystery.]

Lord's incarnation, doth evidently say unto the virgin, the mother of God[3]: "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee; therefore also that holy thing that shall be born shall be called the Son of God?" What, I pray you, could have possibly been invented of purpose to be more manifestly spoken for the proof of this matter, than these words of the angel? Thou hast here the person of the Highest, that is, of the Father. For in the words of the angel, a little afore, it is said: "He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Highest." Now the Son is the Son of the Father. We have also the persons of the Son and of the Holy Ghost expressed, with their properties, neither mingled nor confounded. The Father is not incarnate, nor yet the Holy Ghost, but the Son. To the Father is born of the virgin a Son, even he that was the Son by the eternal and unspeakable manner of begetting. But the Holy Ghost, which is the power of the Most Highest, did overshadow the virgin, and made her with child. And so by this means thou mayest see here the persons distinguished, not divided; and how they differ in properties, not in essence of deity, or in nature. Luke i.

The apostles testimonies concerning the Trinity

Here now (although these places might seem to suffice any reasonable man[4]) I will yet add other testimonies of the holy apostles, and that too of three the most excellent among all the apostles. St Peter, preaching the word of the Gospel before the church of Israel, as Luke testifieth in the Acts of the Apostles, doth among other things say: "This Jesus hath God raised up, and exalted him to his right hand; and he, having received of the Father the promise of the Holy Ghost, hath shed forth this which ye now see and hear." Lo, God the Father raiseth up and doth exalt the Son: the Son is raised up, exalted, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father: and the Son, receiving of the Father the Holy Ghost, doth bestow it upon the apostles. Therefore the Spirit proceedeth from the Father and the Son, subsisting in his own person, but being one and the same Spirit of them both. Moreover, in the sermon made at Cæsarea in the congregation of the Gentiles, that is, in the house and family of Cornelius the centurion, the same apostle doth as plainly Acts ii. Acts x.

[3 Deiparæ, Lat.]

[4 any reasonable man, not in Lat.]

express the person of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; and knitteth the Trinity together into one essence of the divine nature.

Rom. i. St Paul[1] in the beginning of his Epistle to the Romans saith, that he was "appointed to preach the gospel of God, which he had promised afore by his prophets in the holy scriptures, of his Son; which was made of the seed of David after the flesh, and hath been declared to be the Son of God with power after the Spirit that sanctifieth[2]." Again,

Gal. iv. to the Galatians he saith: "God sent his Son, made of a woman, that we by adoption might receive the right of sons. And because ye are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father." And again,

Tit. iii. to Titus he saith: "God according to his mercy hath saved us by the fountain of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost[3], which he shed on us richly through Jesus Christ our Saviour." Therefore St Cyril, speaking very truly of the apostle Paul, *Libro in Joan.* IX. cap. 45, doth say: "That holy man did rightly know the enumeration of the sacred Trinity: and therefore he teacheth, that every person doth properly and distinctly subsist; and yet he preacheth

Identitas. openly the immutable selfsameness of the Trinity[4]." Concerning which matter, if any man would gather together and reckon up all the testimonies that Paul hath for the proof of it, he must of necessity recite all his epistles.

1 John ii. The blessed apostle and evangelist John doth more strongly and evidently than the other[5] affirm and set forth the mystery of the Trinity, and distinction of the persons, as well in his evangelical history as in his epistle. Among many this one at this time shall be sufficient. In his canonical epistle he saith: "Who is a liar but he that denieth that Jesus is Christ? The same is antichrist, that denieth the Father and the Son. Whosoever denieth the Son, the same hath not the Father.

[1 Apostolus, Lat. omitted.]

[2 per potentiam et Spiritum sanctificantem, Lat.]

[3 Per lavacrum regenerationis ac renovationis, &c.]

[4 οἶδε γὰρ τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ὁμοουσίου τριάδος τὴν ἀπαρίθμησιν, καὶ ἰδίᾳ μὲν ἕκαστον τῶν σημαινομένων ὑφεστάναι διδάσκει, τό γε μὴν ἐν ἀπαραλλάκτῳ κεῖσθαι ταυτότητι τὴν ἁγίαν τριάδα διακηρύττει σαφῶς.—Cyril. Opp. Lib. IX. in Joann. Tom. IV. p. 812. Lutet. 1638.]

[5 ceteris, Lat.; the others.]

Therefore let that abide in you which you have heard from the beginning." And presently after he saith again: "Ye need not that any man teach you, but as the same anointing teacheth you of all things, and it is true, and not lying." In these words ye hear the Father, ye hear the Son, ye hear the anointing, that is, the Holy Ghost. The Father is not the Son; the Son is not the Father; neither is the Holy Ghost the Father, or the Son: but the Father is the Father of the Son, the Son is the Son of the Father, and the Holy Ghost[6] proceedeth from them both; and yet those persons are so joined and united, that he which denieth one of them hath in him none of them. Yea, whosoever denieth this Trinity is pronounced to be antichrist: for he denieth God, which is one in Trinity and three in Unity; and so consequently confounding or taking away the properties of God, he denieth God to be such a one as he is in very deed.

Now I suppose that these so many and so manifest testimonies do suffice the godly; for they believe the scriptures, and do not over-curiously pry into the majesty of God, being content with those things alone wherein it hath pleased God of his goodness to appear and shine to us mortal men. Some there are which do their endeavour by certain parables or similitudes to shadow this matter; that is to say, to shew how the three persons are said to be distinguished, and yet notwithstanding to be one God. But in all the things that God hath made (as I did admonish you in the beginning of this treatise) there is nothing which can properly be likened to the nature of God: neither are there any words in the mouth of men that can properly be spoken of it: neither are there any similitudes of man's invention that can rightly and squarely agree with the divine Essence. And St Basil, disputing *de Ousia et Hypostasi*, saith: "It cannot be that the comparisons of examples should in all points be like to those things, to the use whereof the examples do serve[7]." Thou mayest say that injury is done to the majesty of God, if it be compared with mortal things. But for because the holy scripture doth not a little condescend and attemper itself to our

The mystery of the Trinity is shadowed by similitudes.

[6 unctio autem, Lat.; and the anointing.]

[7 Οὐ γὰρ δυνατόν ἐστι διὰ πάντων ἐφαρμοσθῆναι τὸ ἐν τοῖς ὑποδείγμασι θεωρούμενον τοῖς πρὸς ἃ ἡ τῶν ὑποδειγμάτων χρεία παραλαμβάνεται.—Basil. Opp. Epist. 38. Tom. III. p. 169. Paris. 1839.]

infirmity, I will put a similitude, although in very deed much unlike, which is usually taken and commonly used. Behold the sun and the beams that come from it, and then the heat that proceedeth from them both. As the sun is the head-spring of the light and the heat, so is the Father the head-spring of the Son, who is light of light: and as of the sun and the beams together the heat doth come, so of the Father and the Son together the Holy Ghost proceedeth. But now put case or imagine that the sun were such as never had beginning, nor ever shall have ending; and should not then, I pray you, the beams of this everlasting sun be everlasting too? And should not the heat, which proceedeth of them both, be everlasting, as well as they? Finally, should not the sun be one still in essence or substance, and three by reason of the three subsistences or persons? This parable of the sun did Tertullian use, whose words, which do also contain other similitudes, I will not be grieved to recite unto you. "I will not doubt (saith he) to call both the stalk of a root, the brook of a spring-head, and a beam of the sun, by the name of a son; for every original is a parent, and everything that issueth of that original is a son: much more then the Word of God (may be called a Son), which even properly hath the name of Son: and yet neither is the stalk separated from the root, nor the brook from the spring-head, nor the beam from the sun; no more is the Word separated from God. Therefore according to the fashion of these examples I profess that I say there are two, God and his Word, the Father and his Son. For the root and the stalk are two things, but joined in one; and the spring-head and the brook are two kinds, but undivided; and the sun and the beams are two forms, but both cleaving the one to the other. Everything that cometh of anything must needs be second to that out of which it cometh, and yet it is not separated from that from which it proceedeth. But where a second is, there are two; and where a third is, there are three. For the third is the Spirit of God and the Son; even as the third from the root is the fruit of the stalk, the third from the spring-head is the river of the brook, and the third from the sun is the heat of the beam: yet none of these is alienated from the matrix, of which they take the properties that they have. So the Trinity, descending by annexed and linked degrees from the Father, doth not make

Tertullian contra Praxeam.

I would wish the skilful in the Latin tongue to read this similitude in the Latin copy; for though it be here translated *ad verbum*, yet our English tongue will not bear it so lively as the Latin doth.

against the monarchy*, and doth defend the œconomical state, that is, the mystery of the dispensation. Understand everywhere that I profess this rule, wherein I testify that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, are unseparated one from another; and so thou shalt know how everything is spoken[1]." And so forth; for all these are the words of Tertullian, who flourished in Africa, not long after the age of the apostles.

*or unity.

The certainty of the doctrine touching the Trinity.

But letting pass the parables, similitudes, or comparisons of man's invention, let us stedfastly believe the evident word of God. What man's capacity cannot attain unto, that let faith hold fast. What the sacred scriptures declare unto us, what Christ in his flesh did teach us, what was by so many miracles confirmed for our sakes[2], what the Spirit of God in the true church doth tell us, that must be thought more true and certain than that which is proved by a thousand demonstrations, or that which all thy senses are able to conceive. Paul denieth that he would hear an angel, if he should speak anything contrary to the gospel of Christ. Yea surely, it is a prank of arrogant foolishness, to doubt of the things that are in the scriptures with so great authority laid forth and taught us: but it is a greater madness, if a man will not

[1 Nec dubitaverim filium dicere et radicis fruticem, et fontis fluvium, et solis radium; quia omnis origo parens est, et omne quod ex origine profertur progenies est: multo magis Sermo Dei, qui etiam proprie nomen filii accepit: nec frutex tamen a radice, nec fluvius a fonte, nec radius a sole discernitur, sicut nec a Deo Sermo. Igitur, secundum horum exemplorum formam, profiteor me duos dicere, Deum et Sermonem ejus, Patrem et Filium ipsius. Nam et radix et frutex duæ res sunt, sed conjunctæ; et fons et flumen duæ species sunt, sed indivisæ; et sol et radius duæ formæ sunt, sed cohærentes. Omne quod prodit ex aliquo, secundum sit ejus necesse est de quo prodit; non ideo tamen est separatum. Secundus autem ubi est, duo sunt: et tertius ubi est, tres sunt. Tertius enim est Spiritus a Deo et Filio, sicut tertius a radice, fructus ex frutice; et tertius a fonte, rivus ex flumine; et tertius a sole, apex ex radio; nihil tamen a matrice alienatur, a qua proprietates suas ducit. Ita trinitas, per consertos et connexos gradus a Patre decurrens, et monarchiæ nihil obstrepit, et *οἰκονομίας* statum protegit. Hanc me regulam professum, qua inseparatos ab alterutro Patrem et Filium et Spiritum testor, tene ubique: et ita, quid quomodo dicatur, agnosces.—Tertull. adv. Prax. capp. 8 and 9, pp. 157, 158.]

[2 for our sakes, not in Lat.]

believe the oracles of God for none other cause but for that our understanding cannot attain to the knowledge of all things, when as nevertheless we know that our understanding is naturally blind and hateth God. Among philosophers he is counted an impudent fellow which rejecteth the authority of any notable and approved writer. It was enough to persuade the scholars of Pythagoras for a man to say to them, αὐτὸς ἔφη, "he said it." And then dareth a Christian seek starting-holes, and jangle about asking of curious questions, when it is said unto him, 'God said it, and taught thee to believe it?' No man doubteth of the king's letters patents, if so be the seal be acknowledged: therefore what a folly is it to doubt of the divine testimonies, which are so evident, and firmly sealed with the Spirit of God!

The sum of things to be believed concerning the Trinity.

Wherefore, that I may here recapitulate and briefly express the principal sum of this our exposition, I will recite unto you, dearly beloved, the words of the holy father Cyril, which are to be found *Libro in Joan.* IX. cap. 30, in the sense following: "True faith is in God the Father, and in the Son, not simply, but incarnate, and in the Holy Ghost. For the holy and consubstantial Trinity is distinguished by the differences of names, that is, by the properties of the persons. For the Father is the Father, and not the Son: and the Son is the Son, and not the Father: and the Holy Ghost is the Holy Spirit proper to the Father and the Son. For the substance of the Deity is all one, or the same: wherefore we preach not three, but one God. Therefore we must believe in God; but, distinctly and more fully expounding our faith, we must so believe, that we may refer the same glorification to every person. For there is no difference of faith. For we ought not to have a greater faith in the Father than in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost; but the measure and manner of it must be one and the same, equally consisting in each of the three persons: so that by this means we may confess the unity of nature in the trinity of persons. This faith must firmly be grounded in our minds, which is in the Father, and in the Son, (and the Son, I say, even after that he was made man,) and in the Holy Ghost[1]." Thus much out of Cyril.

[1 Δεῖ γὰρ πιστεύειν τοὺς οἵγε φρονοῦσιν ὀρθῶς, εἷς γε Θεὸν πατέρα, καὶ οὐχ ἁπλῶς εἰς υἱὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα, καὶ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἁγία τε καὶ ὁμοούσιος τριὰς καὶ ταῖς τῶν ὀνομάτων δια-

Now all these points shall be thoroughly confirmed with more full testimonies, when we come once to prove the divinity of the Son of God, and of the Holy Ghost; which I mean to reserve till time convenient.

The mystery of the Trinity was very well known to the patriarchs and prophets.

But let no[2] man think that this belief of the unity and trinity of the Godhead was either invented by the fathers or bishops of the churches, or first of all preached by the apostles immediately upon Christ his death and ascension[3]. For after the same manner that I have hitherto declared unto you, even from the beginning of the world did all the holy patriarchs, prophets, and elect people of God believe and ground their faith. Although I deny not but that the mystery of the Trinity was more clearly expounded to the world by Christ, yet is it evident by some undoubted testimonies, which I will add anon, that the mystery of the Trinity was very well known unto the patriarchs and the prophets. But first by the way I will admonish you, that the holy patriarchs and prophets of God did hold themselves content with the bare revelation and word of God, not raising curious questions about the unity and trinity of God. They did clearly understand that there is one God, the Father of all, the only Saviour and author of all goodness; and that without or beside him there is none other God at all. And they again did evidently see, that the Son of God, that promised Seed, hath all things common with the Father: for they did most plainly hear that he is called the Saviour, and is the Redeemer,

φοραῖς καὶ τῶν προσώπων ποιότησί τε καὶ ἰδιότησι διαστέλλεται· πατὴρ γάρ ἐστιν ὁ πατὴρ, καὶ οὐχ υἱὸς, καὶ υἱὸς πάλιν ὁ υἱὸς, καὶ οὐ πατὴρ, καὶ πνεῦμα τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἴδιον τῆς θεότητος· καὶ εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τῆς οὐσίας ἀνακεφαλαιοῦται λόγον, οὐ τρεῖς ἡμῖν, ἀλλ' ἕνα Θεὸν ἐπιγράφουσα. Ἤλην εὐδιαστόλως φημὶ δεῖν ἡμᾶς ποιεῖσθαι τὴν πίστιν, οὐχ ἁπλῶς λέγοντας, πιστεύομεν εἰς Θεὸν, ἀλλ' ἐξαπλοῦντας τὴν ὁμολογίαν, καὶ ἑκάστῳ προσώπῳ τὸν αὐτὸν τῆς δόξης ἀνατιθέντας λόγον. διαφορὰ γὰρ πίστεως οὐδεμία μὲν ἐν ἡμῖν· οὐ γὰρ μείζων μὲν ἐν ἡμῖν ἡ πίστις ἐν πατρὶ, ἐλάττων δὲ ἐν υἱῷ, ἢ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι· ἀλλ' εἷς τε καὶ αὐτὸς τῆς ὁμολογίας ὅρος τε καὶ τρόπος διὰ τριῶν ἐρχόμενος ὀνομάτων ἐν ἴσῳ τῷ μέτρῳ, ἵνα πρὸς ἑνότητα φύσεως καὶ διὰ τούτων ἰοῦσα φαίνηται πάλιν ἡ ἁγία τριὰς, ἀκατηγόρητός τε παντελῶς ἡ περὶ αὐτὴν διαλάμπουσα δόξα, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡμετέραις ὁρῷτο ψυχαῖς εἰς πατέρα καὶ εἰς υἱὸν ἡ πίστις, καὶ ὅτε γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος, καὶ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον.— Cyril. Opp. Lib. IX. in Joann. Tom. IV. p. 762. Lutet. 1638.]

[2 let a man, an error in all the editions.]

[3 Christi seculo, Lat.]

from whom all good things do proceed and are bestowed upon the faithful; whereby now it was easy for them to gather that the Father and the Son are one God, although they differ in properties. For insomuch as they were assuredly certain that the damnable doctrine of the plurality of gods did spring from the devil, they did not worship many but one God, whom notwithstanding they did believe to consist of a trinity of persons. For Moses, the undoubted[1] servant of God, in the very first verse of his first book saith: "In the beginning (*creavit Dii*) God created heaven and earth." He joineth here a verb of the singular number to a noun of the plural number, not to make incongruity of speech, but to note the mystery of the Trinity. For the sense is as if he should have said, That God[2] which doth consist of three persons created heaven and earth. For a little after God, consulting with himself about the making[3] of man, doth say, "Let us make in our image." Lo, here he saith, "Let us make," and not, "Let me make," or, "I will make." And again he saith, "In our image," and not, "In my image." But lest any man should think that this consultation was had with the angels, let him hear what God himself doth say in Esay: "I the Lord," saith he, "make all things, and stretch out the heavens alone of myself," (that is, of mine own power, without any help or fellow with me,) "and set the earth fast." Therefore the Father consulted with the Son, by whom also he created the world. And again, lest any man should think, as the Jews object, that these things were after the order and custom of men spoken of God in the plural number for honour's sake and worship, thou mayest hear what followeth in the end of the third chapter: "Behold, this man is become as one of us, in knowing good and evil." Now here, by *enallage* he putteth these words, "is become," for "shall become," or, "shall happen:" so that his meaning is as if he should have said, "Behold, the same shall happen to Adam that shall come to one of us," that is, to the Son; to wit, that he should have trial of good and evil, that is, that he should feel sundry fortunes, namely sickness, calamities, and death, and (as the proverb is) should feel both sweet and sour; for that is the lot or condition

Gen. i.

As who should say, Gods created, respecting the trinity of the Godhead.

[Isal. xliv. 24.]

[1 eximius, Lat.] [2 Deus ille trinus, Lat.—P.]
[3 de producendo vel condendo, Lat.]

of man. But the Son being incarnate for us, not the Father nor the Holy Ghost, was found in shape as a man, and had trial of sundry fortunes and of death: which was foretold to Adam, as it is manifest, for consolation's sake, and not in the way of mockage. For as the good Lord did with a garment strengthen the body of our first parent[4] against the unseasonableness of the air, when for his sin he purposed to banish him out of paradise; so did he comfort and cheer up his sorrowful mind with a full example of the Son's incarnation and suffering. And when he had so armed him in body and soul, he casteth him out of the garden of felicity into a careful and miserable exile.

There are in every place many examples of this matter like unto this. For Abraham saw three; but with them three he talked as with one, and worshipped one. And, "The Lord rained upon Sodom and Gomorrha brimstone and fire from the Lord out of heaven, and overthrew those cities." But lest any man should interpret it and say, The Lord rained from the Lord, that is, from heaven; he himself doth presently add, "From heaven." For as the Father created all things by the Son, so doth he by him preserve all things, and doth even still by him work all things.

Gen. xviii.

Gen. xix.

Next after Moses, the notablest prophet, David, in his Psalm[5] doth say: "By the word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all the hosts of them by the breath of his mouth." So here thou hearest that there is one Lord, in whom is the Word and the Spirit, both distinguished but not separated. For the Lord made the heavens, but by the Word: and the whole furniture of heaven doth stand by the breath of the mouth of the Lord. The same David saith: "The Lord said to my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool." Note, that in another place the same David doth flatly say, that beside the Lord there is none other: and yet here again he doth as plainly say, "The Lord said to my Lord;" meaning the Father, who had placed the Son, which was David's Lord, at his right hand in heaven.

Psal. xxxiii.

Psal. cx.

Out of Esay may be gathered very many testimonies; but the notablest of all the rest is that which Matthew the

[4] protoplastorum, Lat.; parents.]
[5] Psalmis, Lat.; Psalms, ed. 1577.]

Isai. xlii. Matth. xii.

apostle citeth in these words: "Behold, my Son whom I have chosen; my beloved, in whom my soul is pleased: I will put my Spirit upon him, &c." With this agreeth that which

Isai. lxi. Luke iv.

Luke citeth, saying: "The Spirit of the Lord upon me, because he hath anointed me, to preach the gospel to the poor hath he sent me, &c." In these testimonies here thou hast the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. A few out of many; for I do not covet[1] to turn over the whole scriptures of the old Testament.

The mystery of the Trinity must not be joined with curious disputations.

So then this faith, wherewith we do believe in God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, we have received of God himself, being delivered unto us by the prophets and patriarchs, but most evidently of all declared by the Son of God himself, our Lord Jesus Christ, and his holy apostles: whereupon now we do easily gather, wherefore it is that all the sincere bishops or ministers of the churches, together with the whole church of Christ, have ever since the apostles' time with so firm a consent maintained and had this faith in honour. It were verily a detestable impiety to leave this catholic and true rule of faith, and to choose and follow one newly invented. There are even at this day extant most godly and learned books of[2] ecclesiastical writers, wherein they have declared and defended this catholic faith by the holy scriptures against all wicked and blasphemous heretics. There are extant sundry symbols of faith, but all tending to one end, set forth and published in many synodal assemblies of bishops and fathers. There is at this day extant, learned and rehearsed of the universal Church and all the members thereof, both learned and unlearned, and of every sex and age, that creed commonly called the Apostles' Creed; wherein we profess nothing else than that which we have hitherto declared, namely, that we believe in one God, to wit, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. And for because this consent of all the saints concerning this true faith hath been ever since the beginning of the world so sure and firm, it was very well and godly provided of ancient kings and princes, that no man should once dare be so bold either to call into doubt, or with curious questions and disputations to deface or make intricate, this belief concerning the unity and

[1 affectamus, Lat.]
[2 multorum, Lat.; of many.]

trinity of the almighty God[3]. He of old among the Israelites was stricken through and slain, which passed beyond the bounds that the Lord had limited out: and we also have certain appointed bounds about the knowledge of God, which to pass is hurtful unto us; yea, it is punished with assured death. Exod. xix.

The conclusion. God grant that we may truly know, and religiously worship, the high, excellent, and mighty God, even so, and such, as himself[4] is. For hitherto I have, as simply, sincerely, and briefly as I could, discoursed of the ways and means how to know God, which is in substance one, and three in persons: and yet we acknowledge and do freely confess, that in all this treatise hitherto there is nothing spoken worthy of or comparable to his unspeakable majesty. For the eternal, excellent, and mighty God is greater than all majesty, and than all the eloquence of all men; so far am I from thinking that I by my words[5] do in one jot come near unto his excellency. But I do humbly beseech the most merciful Lord, that he will vouchsafe of his inestimable goodness and liberality to enlighten in us all the understanding of our minds with sufficient knowledge of his name, through Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour. Amen.

THAT GOD IS THE CREATOR OF ALL THINGS, AND GOVERNETH ALL THINGS BY HIS PROVIDENCE: WHERE MENTION IS ALSO MADE OF THE GOODWILL OF GOD TO USWARD, AND OF PREDESTINATION.

THE FOURTH SERMON.

Dearly beloved, it remaineth now for me in this day's sermon, for a conclusion to that which I have hitherto spoken concerning God, briefly to add somewhat of that creation or work of God, whereby he, being the maker of all things, hath to mankind's commodity wholesomely created all things, both visible and invisible, and doth now as always most

[3 See Vol. I. p. 34.] [4 he himself, ed. 1577.]
[5 mea infantia, Lat.]

wisely govern and order the same. For by so doing we shall obtain no small knowledge of God; and many things shall be more openly laid forth unto us, which we in our last treatise did but touch and away[1]. In the searching out, considering, and setting forth of the creation of the whole and the parts thereof, all the diligence of all wise men[2] hath been set on work, doth labour, and shall be troubled so long as this world endureth. For what is he, though he were the wisest, the cunningest, and diligentest writer of the natural history, that leaveth not many things untouched for the posterity to labour in, and beat their brains about? Or what is he at this day, which, although he use the aid and industry of most learned writers, is not compelled to wonder at more and greater things than either they ever did, or he ever shall, attain unto you[3]? The most wise Lord will always have witty men, that are enriched with heavenly gifts, to be always occupied and evermore exercised in the searching out and setting forth the secrets of nature and of the creation. But we do simply by faith conceive, that the worlds were made of nothing, and of no heap of matter[4], of God through the Word of God; and that it doth consist by the power of the Holy Ghost, or Spirit of God. For so did king David, and Paul the teacher of the Gentiles, both believe and teach. But although the order of the whole, and the manner of the creation, cannot be knit up or declared in few words, yet will I do my endeavour to utter somewhat, by which the sum of things may partly appear to the diligent considerer.

Psal. xxxiii Heb. xi.

And here I choose rather to use another man's words than mine own; especially because I suppose this matter cannot be more lively expressed than Tertullian, in his book *De Trinitate*, setteth it forth as followeth: "God hath hung up heaven in a lofty height; he hath made the earth massive with a low and pressed down weight; he hath poured out the seas with a loose and thin liquor; and hath planted all these, being decked and full with their proper and fit instruments. For in the firmament of heaven he hath stirred up the dawning risings

The history of the creation contained in few words.

The sky and stars.

[1 parcius delibavimus, Lat.]

[2 externorum domesticorumque sapientum, Lat.; of wise men both without and within the church.]

[3 So in all the editions; assequatur, Lat.]

[4 præjacente materia, Lat.]

of the sun; he hath filled the circle of the glittering moon for the comfort of the night with monthly increasings of the world; and he lighteneth the beams of the stars with sundry gleams of the twinkling light" (the night, he meaneth); "and he would that all these should by appointed courses go about the compass of the world, to make to mankind days, months, years, signs, times, and commodities. In the earth also he hath lift up high hills aloft, depressed down the valleys below, laid the fields out evenly, and profitably ordained flocks of beasts for sundry services and uses of men. He hath made the massive oaks of the woods for the behoof of man; he hath brought forth fruits to feed them[5] withal; he hath unlocked the mouths of springs, and poured them into running rivers. After all which necessary commodities, because he would also procure somewhat for the delight of the eyes, he clad them all with sundry colours of goodly flowers, to the pleasure and delight of those that beheld him[6]. In the sea also, although for the greatness and profit thereof it were very wonderful, he framed many sorts of living creatures; some of a mean, and some of a monstrous bigness; which do by the variety of the workmanship give special notes of the workman's wit. And yet not being therewithal content, lest peradventure the rage and course of the waters should with the damage of the earth's inhabitants break out and occupy another element, he closed up the water's limits within the shores; that thereby, when the raging waves and foaming water did rise up from the depth and channel, it might turn into itself again, and not pass beyond the bounds appointed, keeping still the prescribed course; to the end also that man might be so much the more ready to keep God's laws, when he perceived that even the very elements did observe and keep them. Last of all he setteth man to be lord over the world; whom he made to the likeness and image of God: to whom he gave reason, wit, and wisdom, that he might imitate God; whose body, although it were made of earth, was yet notwithstanding inspired with the substance of the heavenly breath and Spirit of God: to whom when he had put all things in subjection, he would have him alone to be free without subjection. And lest that liberty, being let loose at random, might come into

The earth.

The sea.

Man.

[5 So ed. 1584 also: but ed. 1577 has, fruit to feed him.]

[6 them, ed. 1577.]

peril again, he gave a commandment; by the means of which commandment it could not be said that evil was out of hand or by and by present in the fruit, but should then be in it, when once he perceived in the will of man the contempt of that commandment. For both he ought to be free, lest the image of God should seem to be bound undecently; and also a law was to be given, lest at any time the unbridled liberty should break out to the contempt of him that gave the liberty: that he might consequently receive either due rewards of obedience, or merits of punishment for disobedience, having that given him to whether part he was willing by the motion of the mind for to incline; whereby the envy of mortality doth return to him who, when by obedience he might have escaped it, did yet run headlong into it, while he made too much haste to become a God," &c. The same addeth: "In the parts above the firmament which are not now to be beheld of our mortal eyes, that first there were ordained angels; then there were ordained spiritual virtues; then there were placed thrones and powers, and many other unmeasurable spaces of the heavens; and that many works of holy things were there created[1]," &c. Thus far Tertullian.

[1 Regula exigit veritatis, ut primo omnium credamus in Deum Patrem et Dominum omnipotentem, id est, rerum omnium perfectissimum conditorem, qui cœlum alta sublimitate suspenderit, terram dejecta mole solidaverit, maria soluto liquore diffuderit, et hæc omnia propriis et condignis instrumentis et ornata et plena digesserit. Nam et in solidamento (firmamento) cœli luciferos solis ortus excitavit, lunæ candentem globum ad solatium noctis mensuris (Bullinger read, menstruis) incrementis orbis implevit, astrorum etiam radios variis fulgoribus micantis lucis (noctem) accendit: et hæc omnia legitimis meatibus circumire totum mundi ambitum voluit, humano generi dies, menses, annos, signa, tempora, utilitatesque factura. In terris quoque altissimos montes in verticem sustulit, valles in ima dejecit, campos æqualiter stravit, animalium greges ad varias hominum servitutes utiliter instituit. Sylvarum quoque robora humanis usibus profutura solidavit, fruges in cibum elicuit, fontium ora reseravit et lapsuris fluminibus infudit. Post quæ ne non etiam ipsis quoque deliciis procurasset oculorum, variis florum coloribus ad voluptatem spectantium cuncta vestivit. In ipso quoque mari, quamvis esset et magnitudine et utilitate mirabile, multimoda animalia, nunc mediocris nunc vasti corporis, finxit, ingenium artificis de institutionis varietate testantia. Quibus non contentus, ne forte fremitus et cursus aquarum cum dispendio possessoris humani alienum occuparet elementum, fines

Now the sum of all this is: God did by his power create of nothing heaven, earth, and the sea; which he did immediately adorn and enrich with all kinds of good things. And into this world, which taketh the name of furniture that is in it, as in a most sumptuous palace well furnished with all sort of excellent necessaries, it pleased him to bring man, to whom he did put all things in subjection: as David doth with wondering and marvelling set it forth, where he saith: "O Lord, our governor, how excellent is thy name in all the world! For thy glory is lift up above the heavens. Out of the mouths of very babes and sucklings hast thou ordained strength, because of thine enemies; that thou mayest destroy the enemy and the avenger. For I will consider the heavens, even the works of thy fingers; the moon and the stars, which thou hast ordained. What is man, that thou art so mindful of him; or the son of man, that thou hast care over him? Thou madest him somewhat lower than the angels (or, than God); thou crownest him with glory and honour, thou madest him to have dominion over the works of thy hands. Thou hast put all things in subjection under his feet; sheep and oxen, and the beasts of the field, the fowls of the air, and the

David celebrateth the creation of the world.

litoribus inclusit; quo cum fremens fluctus et ex alto sinu spumans unda venisset, rursum in se rediret, nec terminos concessos excederet, servans jura præscripta: ut divinas leges tanto magis homo custodiret, quanto illas etiam elementa servassent. Post quæ hominem quoque mundo præposuit, et quidem ad imaginem Dei factum: cui mentem et rationem indidit et prudentiam, ut Deum posset imitari: cujus etsi corporis terrena primordia, cœlestis tamen et divini halitus inspirata substantia. Quæ cum omnia in servitutem illi dedisset, solum liberum esse voluit. Et ne in periculum cederet rursum soluta libertas, mandatum posuit, quo tamen non inesse malum in fructu arboris diceretur, sed futurum si forte in voluntate hominis de contemptu datæ legis præmoneretur. Nam et liber esse debuerat, ne incongruenter Dei imago serviret; et lex addenda, ne usque ad contemptum dantis libertas effrænata prorumperet: ut et præmia condigna et merita pœnarum consequenter exciperet, suum jam habens illud, quod motu mentis in alterutram partem agitare voluisset: ex quo mortalitas, invidia utique in ipsum redit, qui cum illam de obedientia posset evadere, in eandem incurrit, dum ex consilio perverso deus esse festinat... Quanquam etiam superioribus, id est, super ipsum quoque solidamentum, partibus, quæ non sunt hodie nostris contemplabiles oculis, angelos prius instituerit, spiritales virtutes digesserit, thronos potestatesque præfecerit, et alia multa cœlorum immensa spatia et sacramentorum infinita opera condiderit.—Novatian. de Trin. cap. 1. Tertul. Opp. Par. 1664. p. 707.]

fishes of the sea, which walk through the paths of the sea. O Lord, our governor, how excellent is thy name in all the world!" Psalm viii. The same again in another place doth say: "The heavens are thine, O God, and the earth is thine; thou hast laid the foundation of the round world, and all that therein is." "The day is thine, and the night is thine; thou hast ordained the light[1] and the sun: thou layedst all the borders of the earth; thou hast made both summer and winter." Now who is so very a sot as that he doth not by these proofs easily gather, how great our God is; how great the power of God is; how good, rich, and liberal to man, who never deserved any such thing at his hand, our God is, which hath created so great riches, so exquisite delights, and such furniture as cannot be sufficiently praised, for man alone, and hath made them all subject, and will have them all to obey man as their lord and master?

Psal. lxxxix.

[Psal. lxxiv. 16, 17.]

God governeth all things.

But here by the way, in the creation of the world, we have to consider the preservation and government of the whole by the same God. For neither doth the world stand and endure by any power of its own; neither do those things move and stir of their own accord, or (as we say) at all adventures, which are stirred or moved howsoever. For the Lord in the gospel saith: "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work." And Paul saith: "God by his Son hath made the worlds, and doth rule and uphold them with the word of his power." And again: "By God we live, and move, and have our being." And again: "God left not himself without witness, in that he shewed his benefits from heaven, giving us rain and fruitful seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladness." And Theodoret, *De Providentia*, saith: "It is a most absurd thing to say, that God hath created all things, but that he hath no care of the things which he hath made; and that his creature, as a boat destitute of a steersman, is with contrary winds tossed to and fro, and knocked and cracked upon shelves and rocks[2]." Therefore in this place we have to say some-

John v.

Heb. i.

Acts xvii.

Acts xiv.

Of God's providence.

[1 lights, ed. 1577; luminaria, Lat.]

[2 Τῶν γὰρ ἄγαν ἀτοπωτάτων πεποιηκέναι μὲν αὐτὸν τὰ σύμπαντα λέγειν, . . . ἀμελεῖν δὲ ὧν ἐποίησε, καὶ περιορᾷν τὴν κτίσιν, οἷόν τι σκάφος ἀνερμάτιστόν τε καὶ ἀκυβέρνητον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων ἀνέμων τῇδε κἀκεῖσε πεμπόμενον, καὶ σκοπέλοις καὶ βράχεσι προσρηγνύμενον.—Theodoret. Hæret. Fab. Lib. v. cap. 10. p. 275. Tom. IV. Lut. Par. 1642.]

what of God's providence and government: which all the wicked, together with the epicures, do at this day[3] deny, saying in their hearts: "Is it likely, that he that dwelleth in heaven should regard the things on earth? And doth the Almighty observe and mark the very smallest of words[4] and works? He hath given to all creatures a certain inclination and nature, which he hath made their own; and so leaveth them now in the hand of their own counsel, that they of their own nature may move, increase, perish, and do even what they lust. Tush, God neither knoweth, nor doth greatly trouble himself about these toys." Thus do the wicked reason very wickedly: but the scripture doth expressly in many places pronounce and prove[5], that God by his providence doth care for and regard the state of mortal men and of all the things that he hath made for the use of mortal men. And therefore here it is profitable and necessary to cite some testimonies out of the holy scriptures for the proof of this argument.

David in his Psalms saith: "The Lord shall reign for ever, and his kingdom is a kingdom of all ages, and his dominion from generation to generation." Lo, the kingdom of God (saith he) is a kingdom of all ages, and his dominion throughout all generations. Therefore God hath not only created the world and all things that are in the world; but doth also govern and preserve them at this day, and shall govern and preserve them even till the end. For the same kingly prophet, celebrating the providence of God about man and his estate, doth say: "Thou, O Lord, knowest my down-sitting and mine uprising; thou spiest out all my ways. For there is not a word in my tongue, but thou, O Lord, dost know it altogether. Thou hast fashioned me behind and before, and laid thine hand upon me;" and so forth, as followeth in the hundred and thirty-ninth psalm, which psalm doth wholly make to this purpose. With this doctrine of David doth the testimony of Salomon agree, where he saith: "The king's heart is in the hand of the Lord; like as the rivers of water, he may turn it whithersoever he will. Every man's way seemeth right in his own eyes; but the Lord driveth[6], or ruleth, the heart." And in the gospel the Lord

Psal. cxlv.

Psal. cxxxix.

Prov. xxi.

[3 etiam hodie, Lat.]
[4 our words, ed. 1577; dicta et facta nostra, Lat.]
[5 imo demonstrat, Lat.] [6 impellit, Lat.]

Matth. x. said: "Are not two little sparrows sold for a farthing? And one of them shall not light on the ground without your Father. Yea, even all the hairs of your head are numbered."

There are besides these other evident testimonies also of the providence of God. Daniel, the wisest man of all the east, and Dan. ii. the most excellent prophet of God, doth say: "Wisdom and strength are the Lord's: it is he that changeth the times and seasons[1]: he taketh away kings, and setteth up kings: he giveth wisdom unto the wise, and understanding to those that understand: he revealeth the deep and secret things: he knoweth the thing that lieth in darkness; for the light dwelleth Psal. lxxxix. in him." Moreover, Ethan the Ezrachite saith: "Thou, Lord, rulest the raging of the sea; thou stillest the waves thereof, when they arise. Thou hast an almighty arm; thou strengthenest thy hand, and settest up thy right hand. In justice and equity is thy royal throne stablished; goodness and Psal. civ. faith do go before thy face." And David saith: "Of the fruit of thy works, O God, shall the earth be filled. And he bringeth forth grass for cattle, and herb for the use of man; and bread to strengthen the heart of man, and wine to make him merry." And immediately after in the same psalm: "All things do wait upon thee, that thou mayest give them their meat in due season. When thou givest it, they gather it; and when thou openest thine hand, they are filled with good. If thou hidest thy face, they are troubled; and if thou takest away their breath, they die, and are turned into their Psal. cxlv. dust." Again: "The Lord upholdeth all such as fall, and lifteth up all those that be down. The Lord looseth men from their fetters: the Lord giveth sight unto the blind. The [Psal. cxlvi.] Lord keepeth the stranger; he defendeth the fatherless and widow; and the way of the wicked he turneth upside down." Psal. cxlvii. "Great is our Lord, and great is his power; and of his wisdom there is none end. He telleth the number of the stars, and calleth them all by their names. He covereth the heavens with clouds, and prepareth rain for the earth. He giveth fodder unto the cattle, and meat to the young ravens that call upon him[2]. He giveth snow as wool, and scattereth the hoar frost like ashes. He casteth forth his ice like morsels: who shall abide before the face of his cold? He shall send out his word, and melt them; he shall blow with his wind, and the waters

[1 et quæ fiunt in tempore, Lat.] [2 upon him, not in Lat.]

shall flow." And again: "I know that the Lord is great; and that he is above all gods. What pleased him, that hath he done in heaven and earth, and in the sea, and in all deep places. He lifteth up the clouds from the ends of the world, and turneth lightning unto rain, and bringeth the winds out of their treasuries[3]." There are many testimonies like to these to be seen in the thirty-eighth and thirty-ninth chapters of the book of Job; and rifely[4] in the Psalms, and books of the holy prophets: but these that hitherto I have recited are sufficient enough, testifying abundantly that God by his providence doth govern this world and all things that are therein, and especially man himself the possessor of the world, for whom all things were made. Psal. cxxxv.

We do here attribute nothing to destiny, either stoical or astrological; neither have we anything to do with that ethnick fortune, either good or ill. We do utterly detest philosophical disputations in this case, which are contrary to the truth of the prophets' writings and doctrine of the apostles. We content ourselves in the only word of God; and do therefore simply believe and teach, that God by his providence doth govern all things, and that too according to his own good will, just judgment, and comely order, by means most just and equal: which means whosoever despiseth, and maketh his boast only on[5] the bare name of God's providence, it cannot be that he should rightly understand the effect of God's providence. They make this objection: "Because all things in the world are done by God's providence, therefore we need not to put in our oar[6]: we may snort idly and take our ease: it is sufficient for us to expect the working or impelling of God; for if he need our aid, he will, whether we will or no, even impel us to the work which he will have to be wrought by us." But the saints in the scripture are laid before us and shewed to have thought, spoken, and judged more sincerely of God's providence. The angel doth in express words say to Lot: "Haste thee to Zoar, and save thyself there: for I can do nothing until thou art come thither." Lo, here by God's providence Lot with his are saved; the citizens of Against Gentilism. The saints do not neglect good means. Gen. xix.

[3 his treasuries, Auth. Ver.]
[4 rifely; passim, Lat.]
[5 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577 has *of*.]
[6 nostram industriam, Lat.]

Sodom are destroyed, and of all the cities thereabout: and yet even in the very work of his preservation Lot's labour is required, and he bidden to do his good-will to save himself. Yea, "I cannot," saith the Lord, "do anything till thou art come into Zoar." The king and prophet David doth plainly
Psal. xxxi. say, "I have hoped in thee, O Lord; I have said, Thou art my God: my days are in thy hand." And yet even he, which did wholly betake himself to the providence of God, did earnestly consider with himself, how with his diligence and industry he might deceive and escape from the layings in
1 Sam. xix. wait of Saul his father-in-law. Neither doth he despise the aid and shifts of his wife[1] Michol: he doth not reply to her again and say, "All things are done by the providence of God; therefore there needs no wiles to be wrought. The Almighty is able to take me out of the hands of our father's soldiers, or otherwise to save me by some miraculous means: let us content ourselves, and suffer God to work his will in us." He did not argue thus; but did understand that, as God's providence doth proceed in a certain order by middle means, so that it is his part to apply himself to means in the fear of God, and by all assays to do his best for his own defence[2]. St Paul doth
Acts xxiii. hear the Lord flatly saying: "As thou hast borne witness of me at Hierusalem, so must thou bear record of me at Rome." And although he did nothing doubt of the truth of God's promises, and was not ignorant of the power of God's providence; yet notwithstanding he did privily send his sister's son, which told him that the Jews had conspired to kill him, unto the tribune, to desire of him that Paul might not be brought forth at the Jews' request. Neither did he shew himself uncourteous or unthankful to the soldiers that carried him to Antipatridis, nor to the horsemen that went with him[3] to Cæsarea. Again, as he sailed in the Adriatic sea, when he was in peril of dangerous shipwreck, and that all his company
Acts xxvii. were stricken with fear, he said: "Sirs, I exhort you to be of good cheer; for there shall be no loss of any man's life among you, but[4] of the ship. For there stood by me this night the

[1 dilectæ conjugis, Lat.]

[2 omnemque movere lapidem, Lat. Erasmi Adag. Chiliad. p. 228, *experientiæ*.]

[3 inde, Lat. omitted; thence.]

[4 sed tantum, Lat.; but only.]

angel of God, whose I am and whom I serve, saying, Fear not, Paul: thou must be brought before Cæsar; and lo, God hath given thee all them that sail with thee. Wherefore, sirs, be of good cheer; for I believe God, that it shall be even as it was told me." But a while after, when the mariners went about to leave the ship, the same Paul said to the centurion and to the soldiers: "Unless these abide in the ship, ye cannot be saved."

Therefore means do belong to the providence of God, by which he worketh; and therefore are they not to be neglected. Truly, it is by God's government or providence, that we have all these impressions* of what sort soever, either fiery, or airy, or watery. For by the power of God, and not by any power of their own[5], doth the air make the earth fruitful, the water[6] flow and ebb again, and the earth doth bring forth her increase. And although the saints think verily, that none of all this is done for any sake of theirs[7], because the Saviour himself in the gospel saith, "The Father sendeth rain upon the just and unjust;" yet for all that they do never forget the words of the prophet, where he saith, "If ye will be willing and obedient, ye shall eat the good of the land: but if ye be obstinate and rebellious, ye shall be devoured with the sword: for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it." For the great prophet Moses, long before Esay, had said: "If thou shalt hearken diligently unto the voice of the Lord thy God, to observe and do all his commandments, all these blessings shall come upon thee. Thou shalt be blessed in the city, and blessed in the field. Blessed shall the fruit of thy body be, and blessed shall the fruit of the ground[8] be. The Lord shall open heaven unto thee, and give rain to thy land in due season. But if thou wilt not hearken unto the voice of the Lord thy God, to observe and do his commandments, then all these curses shall come upon thee. Cursed shalt thou be in the city, and cursed in the field. The heaven above thy head shall be brass; and the Lord shall smite thee with many plagues," &c. And histories bear record, that all these things happened to the people of God

*Meteors, impressions or appearances which some times for their rareness and strangeness make men to marvel.

Matth. v.

Isai. i.

Deut. xxviii.

[5 neque temere, Lat. omitted; nor of chance.]
[6 So also 1584: but ed. 1577, *waters*, and Lat. aquæ.]
[7 propter sua merita, Lat.; for any merits' sake of theirs, ed. 1577.]
[8 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, thy ground.]

even as they are here foretold; and that too, not without the providence of the Lord their God. All good successes and prosperity are the good blessings of God; and on the other side, all calamities and adversities are the curses of God. Therefore hereupon the saints do gather, that men's affairs and state are wholly governed by God's providence, so yet that they must not therefore sit (as we say) with their hands in their bosoms idly, and neglect good means; but rather watchfully and diligently walk by the grace of God in the ways and means, or precepts and ordinances, of the Lord. For the providence of God doth not disturb the order of things; it doth not abrogate the offices of life, nor labour and industry; it doth not take [away] a just dispensation[1] and obedience: but by these things it worketh the health of those men which do through the help of God religiously apply themselves to the decrees, purpose, or working of the Lord; to whom they do rightly ascribe what good soever doth chance or betide them; imputing to man's corruption, to our own unskilfulness, and to our sins, what evil soever doth happen unto us. Therefore the saints acknowledge, that although wars, plagues, and divers other calamities do by God's providence afflict mortal men, yet notwithstanding that the causes thereof do arise of nothing else than the sins of man. For God is good, which wisheth us rather well than evil: yea, oftentimes he of his goodness turneth our evil purposes unto good ends; as is to be seen by the history of Joseph in the book of Genesis.

God's good-will is learned by his providence.

Truly, upon the earnest consideration of God's providence all the godly sort do gather, that their good God wisheth all well[2] unto man. For he hath a great care over us, not in great things only, but also in the smallest. He knoweth the number of the days of our life. In his sight are all our members, as well within as without. For the Lord in the gospel saith, that "all the hairs of our head are numbered." He by his providence defendeth us from all manner diseases and imminent perils. He feedeth, refresheth, and preserveth us: for as he made all creatures for man's health and behoof, so doth he preserve and apply them to man's good and commodity.

[1 œconomiam, Lat.]

[2 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, wisheth well.]

Of God's predestination, or fore-appointment.

The doctrine of the foreknowledge and predestination of God, which hath a certain likeness[3] with his providence, doth no less comfort the godly worshippers of God. They call foreknowledge that knowledge in God, whereby he knoweth all things before they come to pass, and seeth even present all things that are, have been, and shall be. For to the knowledge of God all things are present; nothing is past, nothing is to come. And the predestination of God is the eternal decree of God, whereby he hath ordained either to save or destroy men; a most certain end of life and death being appointed unto them. Whereupon also it is elsewhere called a fore-appointment[4]. Touching these points some have diversely disputed; and many verily, curiously and contentiously[5] enough; and in such sort surely, that not only the salvation of souls, but the glory of God also, with the simple sort is endangered. The religious searchers or interpreters of the scriptures confess, that here nothing is to be permitted to man's wit; but that we must simply and wholly hang upon whatsoever the scripture hath pronounced[6]. And therefore these words of St Paul are continually before their eyes and in their minds: "O the depth of the riches of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how unsearchable (or incomprehensible) are his judgments, and his ways past finding out! For who hath known the mind of the Lord? or who was his counsellor? or who hath given unto him first, and he shall be recompensed?" They never forget the admonition of the most wise man, Jesus Syrach, saying: "Seek not out the things that are too hard for thee; neither search after things which are too mighty for thee: but what God hath commanded thee, think thou always thereupon, and be not too curious in many of his works; for it is not needful for thee to see with thine eyes the things that be secret." In the mean time truly, they do not contemn neither yet neglect those things which it hath pleased God by the open scriptures to reveal to his servants touching this matter.

Rom. xi.

Ecclus. iii.

Of God's foreknowledge there are many testimonies, especially in the prophecy of Esay, chap. xli. and in the

[3 cognationem, Lat.] [4 præfinitio, Lat.] [5 spinosa, Lat.]

[6 agnoscunt modum, ut in rebus omnibus, ita in his imprimis, servandum; Lat. omitted; they acknowledge that, as in all things, so in these matters especially, moderation is to be kept.]

chapters following; whereby also the Lord doth declare that he is the true God. Furthermore, God by his eternal and unchangeable counsel hath fore-appointed who are[1] to be saved, and who are to be condemned. Now the end or the decree of life and death is short and manifest to all the godly. The end of predestination, or fore-appointment, is Christ, the Son of God the Father. For God hath ordained and decreed to save all, how many soever have communion and fellowship with Christ, his only-begotten Son; and to destroy or condemn all, how many soever have no part in the communion or fellowship of Christ, his only Son. Now the faithful verily have fellowship with Christ, and the unfaithful are strangers from Christ. For Paul in his Epistle
Ephes. i. to the Ephesians saith: "God hath chosen us in Christ, before the foundations of the world were laid, that we should be holy and without blame before him through love: who hath predestinate us into his sons[2] through Jesus Christ into himself, according to the good pleasure of his will; that the glory of his grace may be praised, wherewith he is pleased with us[3] in his beloved." Lo, God hath chosen us; and he hath chosen us before the foundations of the world were laid; yea, he hath chosen us, that we should be without blame, that is, to be heirs of eternal life: howbeit, in Christ, by and through[4] Christ hath he chosen us. And yet again more plainer: he hath "predestinate us," saith he, "to adopt us into his sons," but by Christ; and that too hath he done freely, to the intent that to his divine grace glory might be given. Therefore whosoever are in Christ are chosen and
1 John v. elected: for John the apostle saith: "Whoso hath the Son hath life; whoso hath not the Son of God, hath not life." With the doctrine of the apostles agreeth that also of the
John vi. gospel. For in the gospel the Lord saith: "This is the will of him that sent me, the Father; that every one which seeth the Son, and believeth in him, should have everlasting life: and I will raise him up in the last day." Lo, this is the

[1 debeant, Lat.; who ought.]

[2 ut adoptaret in filios, Lat.]

[3 placatus est nobis, Lat. ἐχαρίτωσεν significat, gratificavit, sibi caros, gratos, ac dilectos reddidit, adeoque et placatus est. Bulling. Comment. in Eph. i. 6. See Vol. I. p. 96, note 1.]

[4 per vel propter Christum, Lat.; through or for the sake of Christ.]

will or eternal decree of God, saith he, that in the Son by faith we should be saved. Again, on the contrary part, touching those that are predestinate to death, the Lord saith: "He that believeth not is condemned already, because he hath not believed in the name of the only-begotten Son of God. And this is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men have loved darkness more than light." Therefore, if thou ask me whether thou art elected to life, or predestinate to death; that is, whether thou art of the number of them that are to be damned, or that are to be saved; I answer simply out of the scripture, both of the evangelists and the apostles: If thou hast communion or fellowship with Christ, thou art predestinate to life, and thou art of the number of the elect and chosen: but if thou be a stranger from Christ, howsoever otherwise thou seem to flourish in virtues, thou art predestinate to death, and foreknowledged, as they say, to damnation. Higher and deeper I will not creep into the seat of God's counsel. And here I rehearse again the former testimonies of scripture: "God hath predestinate us, to adopt us into his sons through Jesus Christ. This is the will of God, that whoso believeth in the Son should live; and whoso believeth not should die." Faith therefore is a most assured sign that thou art elected; and whiles thou art called to the communion of Christ, and art taught faith, the most loving God declareth towards thee his election and good-will.

John iii.

Who is elected and predestinate to life.

The simpler sort, verily, are greatly tempted and exceedingly troubled with the question of election. For the devil goeth about to throw into their minds the hate of God, as though he envied us our salvation, and had appointed and ordained us to death. That he may the more easily persuade this unto us, he laboureth tooth and nail wickedly to enfeeble and overthrow our faith; as though our salvation were doubtful, which leaneth and is stayed upon the uncertain[5] election of God. Against these fiery weapons the servants of God do arm their hearts with cogitations and[6] comforts of this sort fetched out of the scripture:

A sore temptation in this case.

God's predestination is not stayed or stirred with any

[5 So ed. 1577, rightly; incertæ Dei electioni, Lat.; but ed. 1584 and 1587, *certain*.]

[6 adeoque, Lat.; and so with.]

worthiness or unworthiness of ours; but of the mere grace and mercy of God the Father, it respecteth Christ alone. And because our salvation doth stay only upon him, it cannot but be most certain. For they are wrong, that think those that are to be saved to life are predestinate of God for the merit's sake, or good works, which God did foresee in them. For notably saith the apostle Paul: "He hath chosen us in Christ into himself, according to the good pleasure of his will, that the glory of his grace might be praised." And again: "It is not in him that willeth, nor in him that runneth, but in God that sheweth mercy." Again: "God hath saved us, and called us with an holy calling, not according to our works, but according to his own purpose and grace, which was given unto us through Christ Jesus before the world was, but is now made manifest by the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ." Freely therefore, of his mere mercy, not for our deserts, but for Christ's sake, and not but in Christ, hath he chosen us, and for Christ's sake doth embrace us, because he is our Father and a lover of men. Of whom also speaketh the prophet David: "The Lord is full of compassion and mercy, slow to anger, and of great kindness. And as a father hath compassion on his children, so hath the Lord compassion on them that fear him: for he knoweth whereof we be made, and remembereth that we are but dust." Moreover, in the prophet Esay we read: "Can a woman forget her child, and not have compassion on the son of her womb? Though she should forget, yet will I not forget thee." Truly, in Christ, the only-begotten Son of God exhibited unto us, God the Father hath declared what great store he setteth by us. Thereupon doth the apostle gather: "Who spared not his Son, but gave him for us all, how can it be that he should not also with him give us all things?" What thing therefore should we not reckon upon and promise ourselves from so beneficial a Father? For thou canst not complain that he will not give unto thee his Son, or that he is not thine, who, as the apostle saith, was given for us all. Moreover, the Lord himself, crying out in the gospel, saith: "Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will refresh you." And again to his disciples: "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature. He that shall believe, and be baptized, shall be saved." Where-

[Ephes. i. 4—6.]
[Rom. ix. 16.]
[2 Tim. i. 9, 10.]
Psal. ciii.
Isai. xlix.
Rom. viii.
Matth. xi.
Mark xvi.

upon also Paul saith: "God our Saviour will that all men shall be saved, and come unto the knowledge of the truth." 1 Tim. ii.
In old times long ago it was said to Abraham: "In thy Seed shall all the tribes (or nations) of the earth be blessed." Gen. xxii.
And Joel saith: "And it shall be, that whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved." Joel ii.
The which Peter also hath repeated in the Acts, chapter ii.; and Paul to the Romans, chapter x. Esay also saith: "We have all gone astray like sheep; we have turned every one to his own way: and the Lord hath laid upon him the iniquities of us all." Isai. liii.
And therefore durst St Paul say: "As by the offence of one the fault came on all men to condemnation; even so also by the justification of one the benefit abounded[1] towards all men, to the justification of life." Rom. v.
Therefore the Lord is read in the gospel to have received sinners and publicans with outstretched arms and embracings, adding moreover these words: "I came to seek that which was lost. Neither came I to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance." Matth. ix. Luke xix.
All which sayings do hitherto belong, that, being more narrowly weighed, they might confirm and establish us of God's good-will towards us, who in Christ hath chosen us to salvation: which salvation, truly, cannot but be most certain, and by all means undoubted; especially for that the Lord himself in the gospel saith: "My sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me: and I give unto them eternal life; and they shall never perish, neither shall any pluck them out of my hand," &c. John x.

Of the drawing of those that are predestinate to life.

I know what here again doth sting and grieve[2] the minds of many. "The chosen sheep," say they, "of Christ, do know Christ's voice; and, being endued with a stedfast faith, stick in Christ inseparably, since they have felt that drawing, whereof the Lord speaketh in the gospel: 'No man cometh to me, unless my Father draw him:' as for me, as I feel no such manner of drawing, so do I not with a full and perfect faith stick in the Son of God." John vi.
First of all, verily, true faith is required of the elect: for the elect are called; and being called, they receive their calling by faith, and frame themselves like him that called them[3]. "He that believeth not is already

[1 propagatur bonum, Lat.; and Bibl. Lat. Tigur. 1544, and Erasmus' version.]

[2 angat, Lat.; Bullinger's one word.]

[3 se accommodant vocanti, Lat.]

1 Tim. iv. condemned." Whereupon also Paul saith: "God is the Saviour of all men, specially of the faithful." Furthermore, unless we be drawn of the heavenly Father, we cannot believe. And we must be very careful, lest we, conceiving vain opinions of that divine drawing, neglect the drawing itself. God verily
Acts ix. drew Paul violently, but he doth not draw all unto him by the hair. There are also other ways of drawing, by which God draweth man unto him; but he doth not draw him like a
Rom. x. stock or a block. The apostle Paul saith: "Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God." God therefore doth then draw thee, when he preacheth unto thee the gospel by his servants; when he toucheth thy heart; when he stirreth thee to prayer, whereby thou mayest call and cry for his grace and assistance, his enlightening and drawing. When thou feelest these things in thy mind, I would not wish thee to look for another drawing: despise not thou grace offered, but use it whiles time present serveth, and pray for the increase of grace. For to greater and perfecter things thou aspirest godlily afterwards; in the mean space, there is no cause why thou
Matth. xxv. shouldest despise the lesser. In the gospel after St Matthew they receive large[1] riches, who, having received but a few talents, occupied the same faithfully: but he that despised the talent wherewith he was put in credit, and cloaked his slothfulness with I wot not what care, is greatly accused; yea, he is spoiled of the money which was once given him, and is thrown into everlasting torments, being bound with bonds of
Matth. xiii. condemnation. For the Lord pronounceth generally: "Whosoever hath, to him shall be given, and he shall have abundance; but whosoever hath not, from him shall be taken away even that which he hath." He hath, who acknowledgeth, magnifieth, and reverenceth[2] the grace of God: to this[3] heap of graces more is added, so that it is made more abundant. He hath not, which doth not acknowledge the gifts of God, and imagineth other, I cannot tell of what kind; in the mean time he doth not put in ure the grace received, and which is present. And these are wont to use excuses, that that drawing came not to them as yet; and that it is a matter very dangerous to use occupying, or to make merchandise, of the

[1 ampliores, Lat.; larger.]
[2 excolit, Lat.]
[3 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, to *his* heap.]

gifts of God. But St Paul, judging far otherwise, saith: "So we as workers together beseech you, that ye receive not the grace of God in vain." 2 Cor. vi. And to Timothy: "I put thee in remembrance, that thou stir up the gift of God which is in thee." 2 Tim. i. Not that without God we are able to do any thing of ourselves, but that the Lord requireth our endeavour, which notwithstanding is not without his assistance and grace. For truly saith the selfsame apostle: "God worketh in us both to will and to do even of his good pleasure." Phil. ii. Again: "Not that we are sufficient of ourselves, to think any thing of[4] ourselves: but all our sufficiency is of God." 2 Cor. iii.

Furthermore, I wish not any man to despair, if by and by he feel and try[5] not in his mind a most ripe and perfect faith. The gospel saith: "Of her own accord doth the earth bring forth fruit; first the blade, then the ear, and afterwards full corn in the ear." Mark iv. For so likewise hath faith her increasings; and therefore did the very apostles of the Lord pray: "Lord, increase our faith." Furthermore, in Mark truly a woeful man crieth unto our Saviour: "If thou canst do anything, Lord, have compassion upon us, and help us." [Mark ix. 22, &c.] But he heard the Lord straightways saying unto him: "If thou canst believe it, all things are possible to him that believeth." And this silly[6] soul cried out: "I believe, Lord; help mine unbelief." Lo, this woeful wretch believed, feeling in his mind faith given him of God, which notwithstanding he perceived to be so weak, that he stood in need of God's help and aid. He prayeth therefore, "help mine unbelief," that is, my faith, which, if it be compared with an absolute and perfect faith, may seem but unbelief. But hear, I beseech you, what this faith, how little soever it was, wrought and brought to pass; what an humble mind and hanging upon the only mercy of God was able to do. For straightways he healed the child of the woeful father; and, being restored unto health, and as it were raised up from the dead, giveth him again to his faithful father. If any therefore doth feel faith in his mind, let him not despair, although he know that it is weak enough, God wot[7], and feeble: let him cast himself wholly upon God's mercy; let him presume very little, or nothing at all, of his

Faith hath her increasings.

[4 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, *as of*.]
[5 experiatur, is Bullinger's one word.]
[6 miser, Lat.]
[7 This expression is the translator's.]

own merits[1]; let him pray incessantly for the increase of faith. In which purpose verily the[2] words of our Saviour, very full of comfort, out of the gospel, may confirm and strengthen any man most wholesomely: "Ask, and it shall be given you: seek, and ye shall find: knock, and it shall be opened unto you. For whosoever asketh, receiveth: and whosoever seeketh, findeth: and to him that knocketh, it shall be opened. Is there any man among you, who, if his son ask him bread, will give him a stone? or, if he ask fish, will give him a serpent? If you therefore, which are evil, can give good gifts unto your children; how much more shall your heavenly Father give good things, even the Holy Ghost itself, if you shall ask of him?" These and such like sayings, set forth unto us in the holy gospel for our consolation, ought more to move and establish our minds of the good, yea, the right good-will of God towards us than the eggings of the devil, wherewith he goeth about not only to overwhelm the hope of our election, but to make us suspect and doubt of God, as though he had his creature in hatred, whom he had rather have destroyed than saved. But he is well enough known to the saints by his subtilties and trains; for so he deceived our first parents. Let us keep it deeply printed in our breasts, that God hath chosen us in Christ, and for Christ his sake predestinate us to life; and that therefore he giveth and increaseth faith to Christ-ward in them that ask it; and that it is he that puts it in our hearts[3]. For all things that tend to our salvation come from the grace of God; nothing is ours but reproach and shame.

Matth. vii. Luke xi.

Gen. iii.

These things, brethren, thus far have I laid before you concerning the marvellous and wonderful work of the creation wrought by the eternal, true, and living God, without any trouble (doubtless) or pains-taking. "For he spake the word, and they were made. He commanded, and they were created." A little we have added touching the most wise and excellent governing of all things by God's divine providence, which is always just and most righteous: likewise of God's good-will towards us; of predestination[4]; and certain other

[1 viribus, Lat.; strength.]

[2 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, *these;* hæc verba, Lat.]

[3 eundemque ut petamus inspirare, Lat.; and that it is even he that puts it into our hearts to ask.]

[4 Cf. Orig. Lett. ed. Parker Soc. CLIV, CLV.]

points unto these belonging. All these things truly have we rehearsed, to beautify the glory and knowledge of God our creator; to whom both the perpetual and universal course of nature, as well of things invisible as also visible, beareth witness; whom the angels worship, the stars wonder at, the seas bless, the earth reverenceth, and all infernal things behold[5]; whom the mind of every man feeleth, albeit it doth not[6] express him; at whose beck all things are moved, the springs cast forth their streams, rivers decrease[7], the waves arise aloft, all things bring forth their increase, the winds are forced to blow, showers to fall, seas to rage, all things in all places to deliver abroad their fruitfulness; who planted a peculiar garden of felicity for our first parents, gave them a commandment, and pronounced sentence against their sin; delivered righteous Noe from the dangers of the deluge; translated Enoch into the fellowship of his friendship; did choose Abraham to himself; defended Isaac; increased Jacob; appointed Moses the captain over his people; set free from the yoke of bondage the groaning children of Israel; wrote a law; brought the offspring of the fathers into the land of promise; instructed his prophets with his Spirit, and by all these promised his only-begotten Son again; and at the same instant that he had promised to give him hath sent him; through whom also he would be acquainted and come in knowledge with us; and hath poured forth upon us all his heavenly graces. And because of himself he is liberal and bountiful, lest this whole world, being turned away from the rivers of his grace, should wax dry, he would have apostles to be sent by his Son as teachers throughout the whole world, that the state of mankind might acknowledge their Maker[8]; and, if they followed him, might have instead of a God one whom in their petitions and prayers they might call Father; whose providence hath not only extended itself, and is now extended, not only severally unto men, but also unto very towns and cities, the ends of which he foretold by the voices of his prophets, yea, throughout the whole world; whose ends, plagues, decays, and punishments for their unbelief he hath described. And lest any should think, that this in-

[5 suspiciunt, Lat.; look up to.]
[6 So also ed. 1584: but 1577, do not.] [7 labuntur, Lat.]
[8 institutorem, Lat.]

fatigable providence of God extended not to everything, though never so small, the Lord saith: "Of two sparrows, the one of them falleth not to the ground without the will of the Father;" and, "the hairs of your head are all numbered:" whose care also and providence suffered not the garments of the Israelites to wax old, nor their simple[1] shoes on their feet to be worn and torn. And not without good reason: for if this God comprehendeth that which containeth all things, and all things and the whole doth consist of parts and particulars; then shall his care reach consequently even to every part and particular, whose providence hath reached already to the very whole, whatsoever it is. To this God be all glory.

OF ADORING OR WORSHIPPING, OF INVOCATING OR CALLING UPON, AND OF SERVING THE ONLY, LIVING, TRUE, AND EVERLASTING GOD: ALSO OF TRUE AND FALSE RELIGION.

THE FIFTH SERMON.

Touching God, what he is in person, what in quality, and what in substance[2], I have told you already; not as I ought, but as I was able. I have likewise shadowed out how good and ready his will is towards man, whom he hath ordained to life everlasting in his only-begotten Son; whom also he hath made Lord of all things in this present world, all things being brought in subjection unto him.

Now, that man should not be ignorant what he oweth to so mighty a God, and to a Father so loving and liberal, I will anon join a disputation touching this living, true, and everlasting God, of man to be adored, called upon, and worshipped. For man is neither created nor born to behold and gaze upon the stars, as the philosopher doted[3]; but that he should be the image and temple of God, in whom God might dwell and reign; and that he should therefore acknowledge God, reverence, adore, call upon, and worship, and also[4] be

[1 vilissima, Lat.] [2 quantus sit, Lat.]
[3 Seneca, de otio Sapientis, cap. 32.]
[4 adeoque, Lat.; and so.]

joined unto God, and live with him eternally. And first of all I will speak of adoring God; next of calling upon God; and lastly, of serving God: whereupon we shall perceive without any trouble at all which is the true religion, or which is the false. The places truly expounded[5] are very plentiful; but in few words I will comprehend what the scripture doth teach us concerning them; howbeit not every one particularly, but the chiefest, and so much as seemeth sufficient for our salvation and sound knowledge.

To adore and worship, what it is.

To adore or worship, in the holy scriptures, doth signify, for honour's sake to uncover the head, to bend the body, to incline or bow the knee, or with the whole body to lie prostrate upon the ground, to fall flat on the face at one's feet, after the fashion of suppliants or petitioners, in token of humility, submission and obedience[6]; and it is referred chiefly to the gesture or habit of the body. The Hebricians use one only word *Schahah*[7], which all interpreters have expounded by this word *adorare*, to adore, bend, bow, and lie along with the face downward. The Grecians have expounded it by the word προσκυνέω, that is, I bow the knees, I uncover or make bare the head, I humbly beseech or adore. And προσκύνησις, adoration, is so called either of kissing, or of moving the hat; for κυνέω signifieth, I kiss. And that a kiss was sometimes a sign of worshipping, reverencing, or adoring, it is to be gathered out of the thirty-first of Job. What, and is it not a fashion very much used even at this day, for honour and reverence' sake to kiss the hand? Again, κυνῆ signifieth a hat, a bonnet, or a cap; so that, to adore, is to make bare and uncover the head for reverence' sake. The Latinists also, peradventure, had an eye to the habit of the body; for *orare*, to pray, signifieth both as well to crave as to speak a thing. He therefore doth adore, that, casting his countenance upon a man, doth crave something suppliantly. Likely it is that the Germans also had a respect hereunto: for they turn *adorare*, to adore, by this word *anbatten;* which might moreover have been turned *Zu fussen fallen*[8].

[5 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577 propounded; propositi, Lat.]

[6 deditionisque, Lat.]

[7 More correctly, the Hithpahel form of this verb, viz. הִשְׁתַּחֲוָה signifies, *to worship.*]

[8 to fall at the feet.]

In the ninth of Matthew thou dost read: "Behold, a certain ruler came to Jesus, and worshipped (or adored) him." But
Mark v. Mark, writing the same history, "And behold," saith he, "there came one of the princes of the synagogue, whose name was Jairus; and when he saw him, he fell down at his feet, and besought him instantly (or much;)" thus expounding to us what to adore is, to wit, to fall down at one's feet, and to submit and beseech like a suppliant. For so we read in
Gen. xxxiii. the old Testament of Jacob Israel, our father: "And he, going before them, bowed himself to the ground seven times, until his brother Esau approached and drew near." Of David and
1 Sam. xxv. Abigael thus we read in Samuel: "When Abigael saw David, she hasted, and lighted off her ass, and fell before David on her face, and worshipped on the ground, and she fell at his feet, saying: Let that iniquity be counted mine, my lord, &c." Likewise of Nathan the prophet, it is read thus written:
1 Kings i. "And when he was come in to the king he worshipped" (or
To adore or worship men. made obeisance) "upon his face on the ground." For God, communicating this honour, doth allow the same unto men, either for their old age, their authority, or worthiness' sake: for man is the lively image of God. And it pleaseth God
Psal. lxxxii. himself to call men that excel other in authority, gods. Whereupon the apostles of Christ, Peter and Paul, instructing
1 Pet. ii. the people of God, taught them, he verily, "Fear God,
Rom. xiii. honour the king;" and this, "The magistrate is God's minister: give therefore to all men, honour to whom honour belongeth; fear to whom fear is due." In the law the Lord
[Levit. xix. 32.] saith: "In the presence of a hoar head rise up;" and,
[Exod. xx. 12.] "Honour thy parents." In consideration of this commandment of God the godly do reverence the aged, their parents, and magistrates; and please God also with faithful obedience.

But to adore, worship, or honour images, what representation likeness soever they bear, the Lord doth nowhere like
Exod. xx. or allow; for he saith in the law: "Thou shalt not bow down
Isai. xliv. nor worship them[1]." And by his prophet Isaie, "None (saith he) considereth within himself of this matter, and saith: One piece of the wood I have burnt in the fire, I have baked bread with the coals thereof, I have roasted flesh therewithal, and eaten it; and should I now of the residue make an abominable idol, and fall down and worship a rotten piece

[1 Vol. I. p. 231.]

of wood[2]?" In the same prophet thou readest with much indignation pronounced: "Their land is full of vain gods (or idols;) before the works of their hands have they bowed themselves and adored it; yea, even before the thing that their own fingers have made. There kneeleth the man, there falleth the man down (before them[3]): therefore forgive them not." Therefore that ancient writer, Lactantius, inspired with a prophetical spirit, disputing against the Gentiles, hath thus left it written: "The images themselves which are worshipped are representations or counterfeits of dead men. And it is a perverse and an absurd thing, that the image of a man should be worshipped of the image of God, to wit, man; for he worshippeth the thing that is worser and weaker. Besides that, the very images of saints, which most vain men do serve, are void of all sense and feeling, because they be[4] earth. And where is he that understandeth not, that it is a wicked and sinful act for an upright and straight creature to be bowed down, and to adore and worship earth; which to that end is under our feet, that it should be trodden upon, and not adored of us; who therefore are made to go upright and look upward, that we should not lie grovelling downward, that we should not cast this heavenly countenance to the earth, but thither look and direct our eyes, whither the condition of their nature hath guided them? Whosoever therefore endeavoureth to maintain the mystery of man's creation, and to hold the reason of his nature; let him raise up himself from the ground, and with a raised mind bend his eyes unto heaven: let him not seek a god under his feet, nor dig from under his footsteps that which he may adore or worship; because whatsoever lieth under or is subject to man, the same must needs be inferior unto man. But let him seek aloft, let him seek in the highest place; because nothing can be greater than man, but that which is above man. But God is greater than man: he is therefore above, not beneath; neither is he rather to be sought in the lowest, but in the highest region or room. Wherefore there is no doubt, but that wheresoever an image is, there is no religion. For if religion consist in divine things, and that nothing is divine unless it be among heavenly things, then do

Isai. ii.

In his second book and eighteenth chapter.

ch. xix.

[2 truncum ligneum, Lat.]

[3 incurvavit se homo, et humiliatus est vir, Lat. and Vulgate.]

[4 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, they are.]

images lack religion; because in that which is made of earth there can be no heavenly thing. Which matter even by the very name itself may appear and be manifest to a wise man: for whatsoever is counterfeit, that must needs be false; neither can that which hath a representation or gloss of truth at any time take unto it the name of truth. If then not every representation or counterfeit be, not a thing in earnest, but as it were a toy and a sport, religion is not in images, but there is less religion where they be. That which is true therefore is to be preferred before all things that are false. Earthly things must be trodden under foot, that we may get or obtain heavenly things[1]." These words not unadvisedly have we cited hitherto out of Lactantius. We return now to our purpose.

Spiritual adoration or worshipping.

But because the outward gesture or habit of the body is

[1 Simulacra ipsa, quæ coluntur, effigies (sunt) hominum mortuorum: est autem perversum et incongruens, ut simulacrum hominis a simulacro Dei colatur; colit enim quod est deterius et imbecillius ... Ipsæ imagines sacræ, quibus inanissimi homines serviunt, omni sensu carent, quoniam terra sint. Quis autem non intelligat, nefas esse rectum animal curvari, ut adoret terram; quæ idcirco pedibus nostris subjecta est, ut calcanda nobis, non adoranda, sit; qui sumus ideo excitati ... ut non revolvamur deorsum, ne hunc cœlestem vultum projiciamus ad terram, sed oculos eo dirigamus, quo illos naturæ suæ conditio direxit? ... Quicunque igitur sacramentum hominis tueri, rationemque naturæ suæ nititur obtinere, ipse se ab humo suscitet, et erecta mente oculos suos tendat in cœlum, non sub pedibus quærat Deum; nec a vestigiis suis eruat quod adoret, (quia quicquid homini subjacet, infra hominem sit necesse est,) sed quærat in sublimi, quærat in summo; quia nihil potest homine majus esse, nisi quod fuerit supra hominem. Deus autem major est homine: supra ergo, non infra est; nec in ima potius sed in summa religione (Bullinger read, regione) quærendus est. Quare non est dubium, quin religio nulla sit, ubicunque simulacrum est. Nam si religio ex divinis rebus est, divini autem nihil est nisi in cœlestibus rebus, carent ergo religione simulacra; quia nihil potest esse cœlestis in ea re quæ sit ex terra. Quod quidem de nomine ipso apparere sapienti potest: quicquid enim simulatur, id falsum sit necesse est; nec potest unquam veri nomen accipere, quod veritatem fuco et imitatione mentitur. Si autem (non, Bullinger's text) omnis imitatio non res potissimum seria, sed quasi ludus ac jocus est; non religio in simulacris, sed mimus (Bullinger read, minus) religionis est. Præferendum est igitur verum omnibus falsis; calcanda terrena, ut cœlestia consequamur.—Lactant. de Orig. Error. Lib. II. capp. 17, 18. pp. 227—230. Lugd. Bat. 1660.]

commonly framed according to the inward quality of the mind, and the outward habit of his body which adoreth submitteth, yieldeth, and maketh subject him that worshippeth to him which is worshipped; therefore adoration is translated likewise to the inner man: so that to adore is to reverence and respect God, to bequeath ourselves wholly unto him, and to cleave inseparably unto him, upon him only and alone to hang in all things, and to have recourse unto him in all our necessities whatsoever. Furthermore, the outward adoration doth immediately, when it is needful and ability granted, follow a mind rightly endued with true faith and holy fear of God. For adoration is two-fold, or of two sorts: one of the mind or spirit, which is inward, sound, sincere and true; another of the body, which is outward, unsound, counterfeit, and false, which may proceed from him in whom there is no sparkle of religion. True adoration is the fruit of true faith and holy fear of God; namely, a lowly or suppliant yielding and humble consecrating, whereby we bequeath ourselves, yield and submit ourselves, unto our God, whom as we understand to be our best and most merciful Father, so to be our most high and almighty God: upon him therefore alone we do wholly depend, and to him only we have respect: which also forthwith, so soon as occasion is ministered unto us, we express and testify by outward adoration. All this we shall the better understand by these testimonies of scripture following. David saith: "O come, let us sing unto the Lord; let us heartily rejoice in God our salvation. Let us come before his presence with thanksgiving, and shew ourselves joyful in him with psalms. For the Lord is a great God, and a great king above all gods: because in his hand are the corners of the earth, and the height of the hills are his. For the sea is his and he made it, and his hands fastened the dry land. O come let us adore (or worship) and fall down, and kneel[2] before the Lord that hath made us: because he is the Lord our God; and we are the people of his pasture, and the sheep of his hands." Thou perceivest therefore that we must adore or worship God, and that we must cleave unto him, and sing praises to his name, because he is the most mighty God, Creator of all things, yea, our Creator, our Father, and our Shepherd. Likewise, in the gospel according

Adoration or worshipping is of two sorts.

Psal. xcv.

[2 ploremus, Lat.]

to Matthew, adoration doth follow faith, and doth as it were grow out of it, and by it is nourished. For after that the disciples, being taught by miracles, believed that Jesus was Christ, they came (saith Matthew) and adored (or worshipped) him, saying: "Thou art truly the Son of God." Again, thou readest in John that the Lord asked the blind man that was excommunicate or cast out of the synagogue, whom he restored to his sight, saying, "Dost thou believe in the Son of God?" and that the blind man answered, "Who is he, Lord, that I might believe in him?" and that Jesus answered, and said: "Thou hast both seen him, and he it is that talketh with thee." Moreover upon this by and by followeth in the history: "But he said, I believe, Lord; and he worshipped him." Hitherto now belongeth that which the Lord said to the Samaritan in the gospel: "The true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth." For the Lord doth allow spiritual and inward adoration or worshipping; not that outward, counterfeit, or hypocritical worshipping, but that which proceedeth from a mind regenerated by faith through the Holy Ghost, and that tendeth sincerely towards one God. For we read in the history of the old Testament, that those princes worshipped in truth, which consecrated and made holy themselves unto one God with their whole heart, and on him only depended: again, that they worshipped not the Lord with their whole heart, which, being destitute and void of sincere faith, depended also upon creatures. Now a reason of this adoration or worshipping the Lord adjoineth in the gospel. Worship (saith he) ought in all points to agree with him that is worshipped. But God that is worshipped is spirit and truth, and is delighted with spiritual worship and unfeigned faith. In spirit and truth therefore he must be worshipped.

Matt. xiv.

John ix.

[John iv.]

In the history of the Kings.

Truly to adore and worship God, what it is.

Wherefore the saints have a special care and regard that the inward worship of the mind be sound, and that first of all they worship in heart, and truly, with a sincere faith and a reverence of God's majesty: and whiles they are inwardly so occupied, they do no less outwardly, falling on their faces with humility, and do worship in God's presence. For the outward worship is a companion of the inward, and followeth it. Hypocrites also worship God in body, suppliantly and lowly enough; but because their minds go a wool-gathering, and neither with

faith nor reverence cleave unto the Lord, they hear this spoken of the Lord by the prophet: "This people honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me: but in vain do they worship me, teaching doctrines precepts of men." And this verily is the counterfeit and false worshipping. And that worshipping also is false, nay, it is most wicked and abominable, wherewith the creatures are worshipped, either with God, or for God, or without God. And, to say sooth, they do not worship God at all, which neither fear God, neither believe in God, nor yet depend or hang only upon God.

Isai. xxix. Matt. xv.

That God only and alone is to be worshipped.

All men truly confess that God must be worshipped, but every one doth not surely[1] acknowledge and confess that God only and alone is to be worshipped. It remaineth therefore to be declared, that God only and alone is to be worshipped of men. Adoration or worshipping is joined with true faith and perfect or sincere reverence of God's majesty; which seeing they are due to God alone, it followeth that God alone is to be worshipped: and therefore is this saying so often cited and beaten upon in the law and the prophets: "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and a strange god thou shalt not worship." Now a strange god is whatsoever without and beside the only, living, true, and everlasting God thou choosest unto thyself to be worshipped[2]. The only and alone true, living, and everlasting God therefore is to be worshipped. In the history of the gospel we read, that the devil tempted our Lord Christ; and, having led him up into an high mountain, shewed him from thence all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them, and said: "All these will I give thee, if thou, falling down, wilt worship me:" and that the Lord made answer: "Avoid, Satan; for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve." And surely worshipping and serving are linked mutually the one with the other, that they cannot be severed or put asunder. Whereupon it followeth, that, seeing the Lord requireth only and alone to be served, he will doubtless in like manner only and alone be worshipped. And Heli, the great prophet of God, teaching that God can in no case abide to have one joined unto him in worship, crieth out unto the people worshipping God and with him their god Baal: "How long (saith he) do you halt on both parts? If the Lord be God,

Matt. iv.

1 Kings xviii.

[1 sincere, Lat.] [2 Vol. I. p. 220.]

follow him: if Baal be god, go after him." As if he should have
Matt. vi. said, You cannot worship God and Baal at once. "No man can serve two masters." For the Lord our God requireth, not a piece, but our whole heart, our whole mind and soul: he leaveth nothing therefore for us to bestow upon any other. In the epistle
Heb. i. to the Hebrews Paul sheweth, that Christ is more excellent than angels, because that angels adore or worship Christ, but they again are not worshipped. If then the angels are not worshipped, whom shall we grant, beside the living, true, and everlasting God, that deserveth to be worshipped? God therefore only and alone is to be worshipped. For in the revelation of Jesus Christ, made unto the blessed apostle and
[Rev. xiv. 6, 7.] evangelist John, thus we read written: "And I saw another angel flying through the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach unto them that dwell upon the earth, and to all nations, and kindreds, and tongues, and people, saying with a loud voice: Fear God and give him honour, because the hour of his judgment is come; and worship him that hath made heaven and earth, the sea, and fountains of waters." And again in the same book we read: "And I fell down before the feet of the angel, to worship him. And he
Rev. xix. said unto me: See thou doest it not; I am thy fellow-servant and of thy brethren having the testimony of Jesu; worship God." Again, in the end of the same book thou dost read:
Rev. xxii. "And after I had heard and seen, I fell down to worship before the feet of the angel, which shewed me these things. And he said unto me, See thou dost it not; for I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren the prophets, and of them that keep the words of this book." With this thing the
Acts x. saying and doing of St Peter doth not greatly disagree, at whose feet when Cornelius the centurion fell down and worshipped, Peter said, "Arise, I also myself am a man;" and therewithal laying his hand on him, which lay along, did lift him up, and set him on his feet. Right religiously therefore
In his book intituled *De Vera Religione*, c. 55. wrote Augustine touching true religion, saying: "Let not religion be unto us the worshipping of man's handy work. For better are the workmen themselves, which make such; whom notwithstanding we ought not to worship. Let not religion be to us the worshipping of mortal men: because, if they have lived godlily, they are not to be esteemed as those that would seek such honours; but their will it is, that he should

be worshipped of us, who enlightening them, they rejoice that we are made fellow-partakers of his merit. They are to be honoured therefore for imitation or following sake, not to be worshipped for religion's sake. And if they have lived ill, they are not to be worshipped, wheresoever they be[1]." The same Augustine in his first book *De consensu Evangelistarum*, of the consent of the evangelists, and eighteenth chapter, reasoning why the Romans never received both the God and the worship of the God of the Hebrews, considering that they received the gods almost of all the Gentiles to be worshipped; and he answereth, that that came to pass by none other occasion, than because the God of the Hebrews would only and alone be worshipped without a mate or partner. If any require his words, they are these: "There resteth nothing for them to say, why they have not received the holy rites and worship of this God, save only because he would be worshipped alone; and hath forbidden them to worship the gods of the Gentiles, whom nevertheless these people did worship. For the sentence or opinion of Socrates (who, as by oracle it was ratified, was the wisest of all men) is, that every god ought in such sort to be worshipped, as he himself hath given commandment he would be worshipped. Therefore were the Romans of very necessity forced not to worship the God of the Hebrews; because, if they would worship him after another fashion than he himself said he would be worshipped, they should not then worship him, but that which they themselves had devised and made: and if they would in that manner worship him as he himself prescribed, then they saw that they were debarred from worshipping other gods, whom he forbad to be worshipped. And upon this they refused the worship of the only true God, to the intent they might not offend many counterfeit and false gods; thinking that the anger of them would rather be more to their dis-

Why the Romans never received the God of the Jews to be worshipped.

[1 Non sit nobis religio humanorum operum cultus. Meliores enim sunt ipsi artifices, qui talia fabricantur, quos tamen colere non debemus.... Non sit nobis religio cultus hominum mortalium: quia si pie vixerint, non sic habentur, ut tales quærant honores; sed illum a nobis coli volunt, quo illuminante lætantur meriti sui nos esse conservos. Honorandi ergo sunt propter imitationem; non adorandi propter religionem. Si autem male vixerint, ubicunque sint, non sunt colendi.—August. de Vera Relig. cap. 55. Opp. Tom. 1. fol. 155. col. 4. fol. 156. col. 1. Par. 1532.]

profit than the good-will of him to their benefit[1]." Thus saith Augustine. And although these things are written concerning the worship and service of God, and that we dispute of adoring God's majesty; yet notwithstanding they are not impertinent or beside our purpose; for the worshipping and serving of God are inseparably linked and knit together. Of this serving of God we will speak more heareafter. But by the words cited before we do gather, that only and alone the true, living, and everlasting God is to be worshipped, according to that commonly known sentence of the law: "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God; him shalt thou fear, and him only shalt thou serve: to him shalt thou cleave, and in his name shalt thou swear."

Deut. x.

Rewards and punishments for them that do and do not worship God.

Furthermore, God from the beginning hath promised and performed, yea, and will perform whiles this world standeth, great rewards to his true worshippers. Contrariwise, we believe that great mischiefs or punishments are prepared for those which either do not at all worship God, or else instead of the true God do worship strange gods. The Lord in his Revelation, shewed to John the apostle, saith: "The fearful, and unbelieving, and the abominable, and murderers, and whoremongers, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars, shall have their part in the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the second death."

Rev. xxi.

To invocate or call upon, what it is.

These things have we hitherto spoken of worshipping God: we will now speak, in the second place, of invocating

[1 Veruntamen diligentius ab istis quærendum est, quemnam putent esse Deum Israel, cur eum colendum non receperint, sicut aliarum gentium deos quas Romanum subegit imperium, &c. . . . Nihil ergo restat ut dicant cur hujus Dei sacra noluerint recipere, nisi quia solum se coli voluerit; illos autem deos gentium, quos isti jam colebant, coli prohibuerit. . . . Certe sententia illius eorum philosophi proditur, quem sapientissimum omnium hominum etiam oraculo fuisse firmarunt. Socratis enim sententia est, unumquemque deum sic coli oportere, quomodo se ipse colendum præceperit. Proinde istis summa necessitas facta est non colendi Deum Hebræorum, quia si alio modo eum colere vellent quam se colendum ipse dixisset, non utique illum colerent, sed quod ipsi finxissent. Si autem illo modo vellent quo ipse diceret, alios sibi colendos non esse cernebant, quos ille coli prohibebat: ac per hoc respuerunt unius veri Dei cultum, ne multos falsos offenderent; magis arbitrantes sibi obfuturam fuisse istorum iracundiam, quam illius benevolentiam profuturam.—August. de Consensu Evangelist. Lib. I. capp. 17, 18. Opp. Tom. IV. fol. 81. col. 3.]

or calling upon God, of which point we promised to speak. To call upon, and calling upon, is diversely taken in the scriptures. For it signifieth to bring forth as a witness, or a calling to witness. So Moses calleth heaven and earth to witness against the children of Israel, by the figure *Prosopopœia*. Again, the name of any one to be called upon over another, is to be called by, or after, his name. "Let my name" (saith Jacob) "be called upon them," that is, upon Ephraim and Manasseh; that is, let them be named by my name, as if they were my children; and let them be called, not the sons of Joseph, but the sons of Jacob Israel. So say the wives to their husbands[2], "Let thy name be called upon us;" that is, suffer, or give leave, that we may be named by thy name, and that we may be made thy wives: for those women, through the knot of wedlock, take unto them their husbands' names. After the same manner do we oftentimes read in the prophets and holy history of the Bible, "The house upon which thy name is called;" that is, the house which is called after thy name, and is named the Lord's house. Likewise Joab, general of the king's army, saith unto David: "Take thou the city" (Rabbah, the chief city or seat royal of the Ammonites), "lest I take it, and my name be called upon it;" that is, lest I be called the conqueror of Rabbah. Most ignorant therefore and unskilful are they of the scriptures and the phrases of speech used in the scripture, which cite that saying of Jacob, which even now we declared, in defence and maintenance of the invocation of saints; as though Jacob would have his name to be called upon of his posterity and offspring. In Daniel thou dost read, "A people upon whom the name of God is called:" which signifieth nothing else than, a people that is called God's people. Here is no mention of invocating, whereby we ask or desire any thing. Furthermore, invocation, or calling upon, is taken for religion. For Luke saith in the Acts: "Saul had power (or authority) to bind all those that called upon the name of the Lord." And Paul saith: "Let every one that calleth upon the name of the Lord depart from iniquity." Also, "Seek after peace with all them that call upon the name of the Lord," that is, which

Deut. xxxii.

Gen. xlviii.

Isai. iv.

2 Sam. xii.

Dan. ix.

Acts ix.

2 Tim. ii.

[2 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577 has rightly, *husband;* maritum, Lat.]

are of the true christian religion. Lastly, to invocate or call upon signifieth, to cry or call for help, and with continual outcries to crave somewhat.

Invocation or calling upon God, what it is.

That invocation therefore or calling upon God, whereof at this time we entreat, is a lifting up of man's mind to God in great necessity or in some desire, and a most ardent craving of counsel and assistance by faith; and also a bequeathing or committing of ourselves into the protection of God, and as it were a betaking of ourselves to his sanctuary and only safeguard. In invocation therefore (true invocation, I mean) a faithful mind is first of all required, which doth acknowledge God to be the author and only giver of all good gifts; who is willing to hear them that call upon him, and is able to grant us all our requests and desires whatsoever. An uncessant and ardent petition or beseeching is also required. But of these points more shall be said, when God shall give us leave, in our sermon of the prayer of the faithful; for invocation is a kind of prayer.

That God is to be called upon.

Now verily I will shew, that in all our desires God is to be called upon, yea, only and alone to be called upon. Surely there are express commandments of God, charging us to call upon the name of the Lord, who promiseth, that for the goodwill and love which he beareth us he will hear our requests and suits, and largely give unto us things tending to our health and benefit. Of many I will cite one or two testi-

1 Kings viii.

monies. Salomon, the wisest of all men, doth teach us to call upon God in all and every one of our necessities, making a particular rehearsal of men's special desires. The same argument doth Salomon's father, that most holy king David, handle throughout the whole hundred and seventh Psalm. He reckoneth up therefore the divers casualties, chances, and miseries of men, their affliction or oppression, their wanderings and dangers in their journey, their bonds and imprisonments, their diseases, and the fear of death, which sometimes is more terrible and hideous than death itself, their jeopardies on the sea and rough waters[1], barrenness, scarcity, calamities, contempt, shame, and ignominy. 'Those crosses,' saith he, 'if they light on any man, let him not ascribe them either to his god to whose defence he hath committed himself[2], or to fortune, or to his constellation and

[1 fluminibus, Lat.] [2 deo tutelari, Lat.]

destiny; but to that God that knoweth all things, and can do all things, and upon that God let him call earnestly by faith.' For often doth the prophet repeat these words: "And when they cried unto the Lord in their tribulation, he delivered them out of their distress." And for that cause doth he so often reiterate those words, to the end that we, having conceived a perfect trust in our hearts and sure belief, might learn in all chances to call upon the name of the Lord. For Salomon in his Proverbs yet again saith: Prov. xviii. "The name of the Lord is a most strong tower: unto it doth the righteous man run, and he shall be advanced[3]," or, he shall be set free from danger. Asaph also in his holy songs saith: "Sacrifice unto the Lord a sacrifice of praise, Psal. l. and pay thy vows unto the Most Highest." And, "Call upon me in the day of trouble, and I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me." And he bringeth in the Lord himself speaking, and requiring sacrifices, not of beasts, not of gold or silver, but of praise and invocation. Therewithal he promiseth help; and witnesseth, that by invocating and praising he is honoured (or glorified); whereupon David said: "In Psal. xviii. my trouble I will call upon the Lord, and I will cry unto my God; and he shall hear my voice out of his holy temple, and my cry shall enter into his ears." Joel also said: "Every one that calleth upon the name of the Lord shall Joel ii. be safe." And the Lord by the prophet Jeremy saith: "Ye Jer. xxix. shall call upon me, and ye shall live[4]: ye shall pray unto me, and I will hear you; ye shall seek me, and ye shall find me, if with your whole heart ye seek me." Furthermore, we do not read that our holy and blessed fathers in their petitions and requests[5], were they small or were they great, called upon any other than that God who liveth everlastingly world without end. For the Lord himself by Asaph saith: "In thine extremities and troubles, O Israel, [Psal. lxxxi. 7.] thou calledst upon me, and I delivered thee." Also David saith: "Our fathers hoped in thee, [6]and thou deliveredst Psal. xxii.

[3 exaltabitur, Lat.; is set aloft. Marg. Auth. Ver.]

[4 Bullinger appears to have read *vivetis* for *ibitis* (which also Bibl. Lat. Tigur. 1544 has), ye shall go.]

[5 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, *or* requests.]

[6 speraverunt, Lat. omitted; but found in ed. 1577, they hoped in thee.]

them. Unto thee they cried, and were delivered; in thee they trusted, and were not confounded." Now add unto all these the commandment of Christ our Lord: "When you pray, say, Our Father," &c. Add also the words which follow in Luke xi. and Matthew vii. "Ask, and it shall be given you;" and so forth. We conclude, therefore, that the true, living, and everlasting God ought of all men in all their necessities to be called upon.

That God only and alone is to be called upon.

But to no purpose, peradventure, I take pains in this point, seeing that there are but a few, or none at all, which deny that God is to be called upon. This seemeth to require a more diligent declaration, that God only and alone is to be called upon. For many doubtless do call upon God, but together with God, or for God, certain chosen patrons; whereupon ensueth that they call not upon God only and alone. Now that he alone is to be called upon, in this sort we declare. By invocation or calling upon we require help or succour, either that good things may be given to us, or that evil things may be turned away from us: which needeth no further proof, seeing it cannot be denied of any that is ruled by his right wits. Now God only and alone is our helper, who only giveth good things, and taketh away evil

Matt. xix. things. For the Lord saith in the gospel: "There is none good but one," to wit, God; where one is taken for one only and alone. Again in the law, by the mouth of Moses, the

Deut. xxxii. Lord saith: "Behold, that I am God alone, and that there

Isai. xlv. is none other God beside me." And again by Isaie: "Am not I the Lord? and there is none other God beside me: a just God and a Saviour; there is none other beside me."

Psal. xviii. And David: "Who," saith he, "is God, besides the Lord? and who is mighty (or a rock), save our God?" In very evil part therefore did the worshippers of God take it, so often as men asked of them those things which are in the

Gen. xxx. Lord's hands only to give. Rahel said to Jacob: "Give me children, or else I die." But the scripture by and by addeth: "And Jacob being angry said, Am I in God's stead, which hath denied thee" (or withholden from thee) "the

2 Kings v. fruit of the womb?" So when the king of Syria desired and besought Joram, the king of Israel (a king, I wis, not so godly), that he would heal Naaman, who was infected with the leprosy, Joram saith: "Am I a God, that I should be

able to kill and to give life? For he sendeth to me, that I should heal a man from his leprosy." Wherefore most certain it is, that to God only it belongeth to give good things, and to turn away evil things. Whereupon it doth consequently follow, that God only and alone must be called upon. For if those patrons, whom they call upon as their helpers and succourers that do not call upon the only God, be able either to give those things that are good, or to turn away those things that are evil, then certainly there is not one only God; for those should likewise be gods. But gods they are not, because there is but one God, who only and alone giveth (or bestoweth) good things, and taketh away (or removeth) evil things. God only and alone therefore is to be called upon: patrons are not to be called upon, insomuch as they are able to do us neither good nor harm. As touching that which of their own heads some do here object, that patrons do us good and harm, not of themselves, but of God; it is doubtful, yea, it is most false. For the Lord himself by the prophet saith: "I am the Lord: Hu (this or being)[1] is my name; and my glory I will not give to another, neither my praise to a graven image[2]." So that all glory belongeth to God, because he is only[3] and alone, not only the well-spring of all good graces, which is never drawn dry, but also a most just and equal distributer of the same; and for that cause he is called upon, worshipped, and served of men. Psalm l. Isai. xlii.

Furthermore, insomuch as we ought to sacrifice unto none but to one God, certain it is that we must worship but one only God. The Lord crieth in the law: "He that offereth unto other gods than to the only God, let him be rooted out." And therefore Paul and Barnabas, when the people of Lystra were preparing sacrifices to offer unto the apostles, they rent their clothes thereat, as at intolerable blasphemy. For in the law of the Lord we read again: "Whosoever shall make for himself a composition (or perfume) of incense, to smell thereto, he shall be cut off from among his people." But the sacrifices of the godly are prayers, thanksgivings, and invocations on God's name. For David saith: "Unto thee will I Exod. xxii. Acts xiv. Exod. xxx. Psal. cxvi.

[1 See above, page 133.]
[2 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, to graven images; sculptilibus, Lat.]
[3 Rather, But the glory of God is this, that he is only, &c.]

sacrifice a sacrifice of praise, and I will call upon the name of
Psal. cxli. the Lord." And again: "Let my prayer be directed in thy sight as incense; and the lifting up of my hands as an even-
[Heb. xiii. 15.] ing sacrifice." Paul likewise saith: "By Christ we offer the sacrifice of praise always unto God, that is, the fruit of lips
Hos. xiv. which confess his name." For the prophet[1] Osee biddeth us "offer the calves of our lips." Forsomuch therefore as one only God is to be sacrificed unto, therefore one only God is to be called upon. Neither is it possible, that they, whom such as call not upon the only God name heavenly patrons, would, if they be saints, require of men such manner of invocations: nay rather, both against God and against the saints do these offend, ascribing that to such which no blessed spirits do acknowledge. St Augustine saith, that they are not the angels of the good God, but wicked devils, which will have not the only and most high God, but themselves, to be worshipped and served with sacrifices[2]. Besides that, the blessed spirits (or saints) during the time that they lived in their mortal bodies prayed, "Thy will be done, as in heaven so in earth:" therefore, being now delivered and set free from all corruption, they do much more fully, yea, most perfectly agree unto the will of God, which commandeth all men to worship and call upon the only God.

Again, he that looketh into and seeth the hearts of them that call upon him, heareth their petitions or requests, and is able to fulfil the desires of all men living, he (I say) is lawfully and fruitfully called upon. And surely it is requisite and necessary that he know all things, that he be almighty, and the searcher of hearts. Wherefore, seeing the only God is he, the only God without further question ought to be called upon. For that God only is the searcher of hearts, comprehended in no place, but present everywhere, and omni-
1 Kings viii. potent, Salomon in these words doth testify: "Behold, the heavens and the heaven of heavens are not able to contain

[1 et propheta, Lat.; also the prophet.]

[2 Dic mihi, dæmonia colis, an spiritus bonos, quales sunt angeli? Sunt enim angeli sancti, et sunt spiritus maligni. Ego dico quia in templis tuis non coluntur nisi spiritus maligni, qui sibi exigunt superbi sacrificium, et volunt se coli tanquam Deos. Maligni sunt, superbi sunt.—Aug. Enarr. in Ps. xcvi. Opp. Par. 1531. Vol. VIII. fol. 226. col. 2.]

thee: how much more unable then is this house that I have built! Thou therefore shalt hear in heaven, in the place of thy habitation (or, in thy dwelling-place), and shalt have mercy. For thou only knowest the hearts of the sons of men. Thou shalt do (and give) to every one according to all his ways, which knowest his very heart." As for the heavenly patrons, as these men call them, they do neither know the thoughts of men; neither is their power spread throughout the heaven, the earth, and the seas; neither do they know all things, or yet are everywhere present, or be omnipotent. For if it were so with them, they should be transformed and changed into a divine nature, and should cease any more to be creatures: but although by Christ they enjoy everlasting blessedness, yet notwithstanding they remain creatures still, neither do they know all things, neither are almighty; therefore are they at no hand to be called upon. In one prick and moment of time truly innumerable thousands of mortal men offer up their vows, and make their petitions: so that he verily which heareth must at a pinch, and in a very moment, and not at sundry seasons or degrees of time, know and be able to do all things; yea, and in a moment also reach out his helping hand unto all: which as no creature, though never so excellent, can do; so the only God, that knoweth all, and is omnipotent, can do all things, and therefore only and alone is to be called upon.

I wot well what the defenders of heavenly patrons (or saints) object against that which I have spoken; to wit, that they of their own nature do neither see nor yet hear what is done of us upon the earth; but in the face of God, as in a most lightsome looking-glass, do see all things, whatsoever God vouchsafeth to reveal to them, and that so they have an under-knowledge of all our affairs, and also help us[3]. But this imagination or forgery, in all points doubtful, can be proved by no authority out of the holy scriptures. But touching the celestial saints the scripture doth rather affirm the flat contrary. For in Isaie the people of God cry out: "Thou, O God, art our Father: though Abraham be ignorant of us, and Israel know us not; yet thou, O Lord, art our Father, and our Redeemer." If then the patriarchs, so studious Isai. lxiii.

[3 Sentiments like the above are frequently met with in Romish writers: ex. gr. in Pighius, Controv. præcip. &c. fol. 194. Par. 1549.]

and careful for their people, knew not what they did; which of the saints (I pray you) shall we grant or point out, that knoweth what we do, and that intermeddleth with the affairs of the living? True doubtless is that that the holy psalm soundeth:

Psal. xxvii. "Because my father and my mother have left (or forsaken) me, the Lord hath taken me up." If our parents forsake and leave us, how (I pray you) can they tell, or do they care, how it fareth with us? Let that suffice us wherewith David held himself throughly content, saying: "The Lord hath taken

2 Kings xxii. charge over me." We read that Josias was translated out of this life into another, to the end he should not see the mischiefs, (or plagues and punishments,) which the Lord determined to bring upon the Israelitish people for their most wicked and naughty life. The blessed souls therefore enjoy the sight of God, and thereby participate light and endless joy or gladness; they know none of our affairs, neither is it needful they should know them, considering that the Lord alone hath all things in his government.

Now is that also most certain, that invocation springeth from faith, as the fruit from the root. For Paul, using that saying

Rom. x. of the prophet, "Whosoever calleth upon the name of the Lord shall be safe," doth by and by add: "But how shall they call upon him, in whom they have not believed?" See how the apostle bringeth in one upon another: he is not called upon, who is not believed. Wherefore, in whom we believe, upon him we do also call. But in God only and alone do we believe; therefore on him only do we call. For whereso-

Rom. viii. ever true faith is, there likewise is the gift of the Holy Ghost. For the apostle saith: "If any have not the Spirit of Christ, this man is none of his." And again: "You have not received again the spirit of bondage unto fear; but you have received the spirit of adoption, by which we cry, Abba, Father." They therefore, that are endued with a true belief in God, call upon God, whom they do acknowledge and confess to be the only

Matt. vi. Father of all. Neither might so much as the least part in that solemn form and order of invocation, delivered unto us by the Son of God, be attributed by any means unto patrons, or saints. The only God therefore is to be called upon.

Of the intercessor with God. The heart of sinful man trembleth and quaketh to approach near unto so great a majesty. For who may seem worthy in himself to appear and come before the presence of

the most holy, the most just, and the most terrible God? Here therefore some supply and make up the matter with the patronship or intercession of celestial saints, by whose mediation, and making way before us, passage lieth open for us unto God. But this they bring forth without the warrant of the scripture. The scripture hath laid before us a law, as it were, of calling upon God, and thereunto hath annexed most ample or large promises: so the commandment doth set forth unto us by and through whom we should call upon God, adding thereunto a most excellent promise, and opening unto us through Christ Jesus only a ready way to the Father. For in the gospel the Lord saith: "Verily, verily, John xvi. I say unto you, Whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in my name, he shall give it to you. Hitherto you have not asked anything in my name. Ask, and ye shall receive, that your joy may be perfect," (or full). And, "Whatsoever ye shall John xiv. ask in my name, I will do it; that the Father may be glorified by the Son. If you shall ask anything in my name, I will do it." What could be spoken more fully and clearly than these words? Christ biddeth us by (or in) his name to call upon God the Father, and promiseth that he will give the faithful whatsoever they ask in Christ his name. Who doubteth now any whit at all of the truth and constancy of him which promiseth? What need we therefore henceforth the intercession of saints? Of calling upon them, or of coming to God by their mediation, we have no testimony of scripture, we have no promise. Whereunto I add, that he contemneth the commandment and precept of God, whosoever seeketh by any other than by Christ and his intercession to come to the Father. He that obeyeth the commandment of Christ, and in his name maketh invocation, the same needeth not at all the mediation of saints. Hath not he all things plentifully in Christ? We say therefore, and affirm, that only Christ is the mediator, intercessor, and advocate with the Father in heaven of all men which are in earth; and in such sort the only mediator, &c. that after him it is needless to have other advocates.

Christ alone is the intercessor and advocate with the Father.

Many do grant that Christ is given unto us an intercessor with God; but because they join with him many other, they do not surely send all unto him alone, neither yet do they preach one only mediator. They imagine that Christ is

A mediator of redemption and intercession.

the mediator of redemption, yea, and the only mediator; howbeit not the only mediator of intercession, but together with him many more. But the scripture setteth forth unto us Christ, as the only mediator of redemption, so also of intercession. The office of a mediator touching redemption and intercession is one and the selfsame. A mediator putteth himself in the midst between them that are at variance or disagreement; and he is joined to each in disposition and nature. An intercessor putteth himself in the midst between them that are at strife and dissension; and unless he be indifferent for either side, he cannot be an intercessor. On both parts reconciliation[1] (or atonement) is required and looked for. There must needs therefore be a certain cause of discord; which being taken away, the discord or debate doth also cease. The cause of discord is sin. It is the duty therefore of a mediator or intercessor quite to rase out sin, that disagreement may no longer remain. For this there is no amends or satisfaction made with words or with prayers, but with blood and death. Hebrews ix. Whereupon we do necessarily gather, that only Christ is the mediator or intercessor with the Father. For principally Christ[2] may set himself in the midst between God and men, because he only is partaker of both natures. The saints participate but only one; for they are men; but Christ is both God and man. Furthermore, he that is an intercessor must also be a reconciliator, or an atonement-maker. For the end, whereat he that maketh intercession doth shoot, is reconciliation. But Christ is the only reconciliator of men, therefore also the only intercessor. For it belongeth to an intercessor to dissolve the cause of contention and discord, that is to say, to abolish and take away sin. But Christ alone, and no creature, taketh away sin. It remaineth therefore that Christ is the only intercessor. Hitherto do now pertain the testimonies of scripture. Paul saith: "There is one God, and one reconciler (or mediator) of God and men, the man Christ Jesus, who gave himself the price (or ransom) for the redemption of all." And although the apostle speak expressly of redemption, yet notwithstanding these words

1 Tim. ii.

[1 reconciliatio dissidentium, Lat.; reconciliation of parties at variance.]

[2 Principio enim solus Christus, Lat.; For, in the first place, only Christ, &c.]

are placed in the midst between the disputation of the invocation upon God, which is done by Christ, who is the only mediator of redemption and intercession. For as he alone redeemed us, so doth he alone even now commend us, being redeemed, unto the Father. Touching this let the apostle be heard once again, saying to the Romans: "Christ, when as yet we were sinners, died for us: much more therefore now being justified (or made righteous) by his blood, we shall be saved from wrath through him." And yet again somewhat plainer: "For if, when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son; much more, being reconciled, we shall be saved by his life." For in another place the same apostle saith: "Christ ever liveth" for this end, "to make intercession for us." And again: "It is God that justifieth: who is he that can condemn? Christ is he that died; yea, that is raised up; who also is at the right hand of God, and maketh intercession for us." The same Christ openeth the way, or maketh access, for us unto the Father[3]. Hebrews, chapter iv. and Ephesians, chapter ii. For the Lord Jesus himself in the gospel doth not shew unto us many doors, but one only door. "I am (saith he) the door." And again: "I am (saith he) the way, the truth, and the life. None cometh to the Father but by me." Doth not he which saith, "I am the way, the truth, and the life," yea, and such a way, that there is access to the Father by none other than by me, that is, by me only and alone, exclude all other means, all other ways, and all other patrons or advocates whatsoever? Also in another place of the gospel, lest any through shamefacedness, knowledge of their own unworthiness, and guiltiness of sins, or the majesty and glory of Christ the Son of God, should be hindered from calling upon God in the name of Christ, and committing themselves to Christ his defence; he in his own person, plainly and lovingly calling all unto him and to the benefit of his defence, crieth: "Come unto me, all you that labour and are heavy loaden, and I will give you rest."

Rom. v.

Heb. vii.

Rom. viii.

John x.

John xiv.

Matth. xi.

Out of the epistle to the Hebrews no less evident testimonies than these, and that good store, may be gathered.

[3 Idem rursus aditum nobis ad Patrem aperit per Christum in epistola, &c.; the same (apostle) again opens for us access to the Father through Christ in his epistle, &c.]

Heb. vii. Amongst other this one is excellent: "Christ, for that he endureth for ever," saith the apostle, "hath an everlasting priesthood. Wherefore he is able perfectly to save them that come unto God by him, seeing he ever liveth (for this end) to make intercession for them. For such an high priest it became us to have, (which is) holy, harmless, undefiled, separated from sinners, and made higher than the heavens, &c." Mark, I pray you, how many arguments in this testimony of Paul we have, to prove that Christ is the only intercessor of the faithful in heaven with the Father. The proper or peculiar office of the priest is, to make intercession: but only Christ is priest in the presence of God: he therefore is the only intercessor. Now also the priesthood of Christ is everlasting, or unchangeable. Therefore, not by once offering up hath he redeemed us, being made the alone and only Mediator of redemption; but the everlasting and perpetual Mediator also of intercession, making intercession for us even till the end of the world. For albeit our Lord be a judge[1], yet notwithstanding he is a judge of the unfaithful, a defender and upholder of the faithful, and at the length, when the world is at an end, a judge of all. And if so be he have an everlasting priesthood, and (ἀπαράβατον) not conveyable, I say, or removeable, which cannot, either by succession, resignation[2], or partaking, pass over to any other; then certainly Christ only and alone remaineth intercessor of the faithful. Moreover, there is no cause why we should choose and take to ourselves, either after Christ, or with Christ, other intercessors. For he is able himself alone to work our salvation at the full; leaving unto others nothing at all whereabout to busy themselves. Let us also first of all[3] note that which expressly he doth add, "That come unto God by him:" by him, I say, that is, our mediator, priest, and intercessor, Christ: for by him only and alone the way lieth open for us to go to the Father. Unto which also is annexed, "That he liveth; and (for this end) he liveth to make intercession for us." The heavenly saints also do live in the kingdom of God with Christ: but they live for themselves (or for their own benefit), not for us (or our advantage). Christ liveth for us, and maketh intercession for us: therefore he alone maketh intercession. Saints

[1 et judex, Lat.; a judge too.]
[2 resignation, not in Lat.] [3 imprimis, Lat.; especially.]

do not make intercession. These reasons do prove unto us most manifestly, I think, that the apostle speaketh of the mediation of intercession, not of redemption. Last of all, he requireth in an intercessor such manner of marks (or properties) as a man cannot find in any save in Christ the Lord only and alone. For although the angels be innocent and harmless, yet notwithstanding they are not higher than the heavens. The heavenly saints, although they be now purged and made clean from sins, yet for all that by nature they are not separated from sinners, neither are they made higher than the heavens, as being lords over angels and over every creature. Only the Son is such a one, and for him this glory is reserved and kept: he alone therefore is the intercessor of the faithful with the Father.

Unto these testimonies of Paul we will yet join one of St Peter, and another of the most blessed apostle and evangelist John. St Peter doth teach that the saints, that is, we which are faithful in this world, are laid, as lively stones, by faith upon Christ the lively stone; and that we are made a spiritual building (or house), and an holy priesthood, to offer spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ. Lo, we are laid, not upon saints, but upon Christ, the lively stone; by whom we are both quickened and preserved in the building. We are made a spiritual house, and an holy priesthood, for this end; that we should offer, not sacrifices of beasts, but spiritual sacrifices, to wit, our own selves and our prayers, unto God by Jesus Christ, not by saints. For they also are the spiritual house with us, the lively stones, laid upon Christ, and living through Christ. 1 Pet. ii.

Furthermore, John writeth: "My babes, these things write I unto you, that ye sin not: and if any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ, the just (or the righteous). And he is the propitiation (or reconciliation) for our sins; and not for ours only, but also (for the sins) of the whole world." I do not think that any thing could be devised or spoken[4] more agreeable to our purpose, more evident, more strong or better than this. We hear that Christ is appointed and made unto us of God not only a mediator of redemption, once to redeem, but to be 1 John ii.

[4 vel confingi posse, Lat.; could even be devised:—or spoken, the translator's addition.]

an everlasting mediator, yea, of intercession; who so often standeth an advocate before God the Father, how often sinful man offendeth and hath need of his help and defence; unto whom also the guilty may boldly have access, and commit unto him their cause to be pleaded before God. "If any man sin," saith John, "we have an advocate with the Father." Lo, John calleth him an advocate, whom the defenders (or maintainers) of the patronship of saints do call a mediator of intercession. For *advocatus*, παράκλητος, and advocate, signifieth a tutor, a defender, a favourer, a comforter, a patron, or a proctor, which pleadeth, or hath a cause[1] in handling. But mark whom he defineth and setteth forth to be our advocate: not the holy virgin, not Peter or Paul, not himself or Stephen, but Jesus Christ. If he had thought or believed that the patronship of heavenly saints had been over and besides necessary and wholesome for men, then would he have joined them with Christ the Lord: now he setteth forth unto us Christ alone. He addeth, "the just" (or the righteous); as if he had said, there is no cause why any should distrust or stand in doubt of his patronship, or think him a patron not in his Father's favour and love. He is the Son, he is Christ, he is the just or righteous: therefore he is highly in his Father's favour, and most acceptable; who in the presence of the most just God may appear for us that are unjust. Such righteousness is not found in any one of Adam's children. But it is required in an intercessor. Indeed, he doth communicate his righteousness to the saints by faith; but that righteousness is imputed to the saints, and it is imputative. In Christ righteousness is natural, and as it were born in him; yea, it is properly his own. For Christ Jesus, he is the only righteous in heaven and in earth; who needeth not first for his own sins, and then for the offences of the people, either to pray or to offer sacrifice; for he only hath no sin, and he is the righteousness of all: he[2] therefore maketh intercession with the Father, because none naturally and properly is righteous but Christ alone. And it is not amiss in this place first of all[3] to mark, that Christ is called a propitiation, or satisfaction, not for sinners or people of one

[1 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, *our* cause; causam nostram, Lat.]
[2 solus, Lat.; he only.]
[3 in primis, Lat.; most especially.]

or two ages, but for all sinners and all faithful people throughout the whole world. One Christ therefore is sufficient for all: one intercessor with the Father is set forth unto all. For how often thou sinnest, so often thou hast ready a righteous intercessor with the Father. Not that we should imagine in heaven, as in a court, the Father upon his throne to sit as a judge, and the Son our patron so often to fall down on his knees, and to plead or entreat for us, as we sin and offend: but we understand with the apostle, that Christ is the advocate and the universal priest of the church, and that he only appeareth in the presence of the Father: because as the power and force of his death, (albeit he die not daily,) so the virtue of his intercession, is always effectual. Let us therefore draw near and come to God by Christ, the only mediator of our redemption and intercession, our only intercessor and advocate. We cannot but be acceptable unto God the Father, if we be commended unto him by his only-begotten Son.

What manner of intercession Christ's is.

Furthermore, weak are the arguments wherewith the maintainers of the heavenly patrons go about to establish their patronship or intercession. The Spirit, say they, maketh intercession for us according to the doctrine of the apostle; therefore Christ alone doth not make intercession. I answer, that Paul speaketh not of another intercessor in heaven, but of the spirit of man praying in this world; which, being enlightened and kindled with the Spirit of God, groaneth and maketh intercession for the saints. The words of the apostle are plain.

An answer to certain arguments or reasons of the adversaries. Rom. viii.

These men do yet add: We read in scripture of the prayers of angels, and that they offer the prayers of the faithful in God's presence: therefore not Christ alone prayeth or maketh intercession for us in heaven, but also the saints. We deny that this followeth; because the scripture teacheth that angels are ministering spirits; and, according to their office, offer prayers only as ministers in the presence of God, but not to make intercession, or that men are heard for angels' sakes, but for Christ's sake, who maketh intercession, and for whose sake the prayer which is brought and offered unto God is acceptable unto him. Now if so be they will bring forth the like also touching the blessed souls of the saints, and reason, *a simili*, from that that is like; let them

Prayer of angels.

Heb. i.

first teach that souls are appointed and made ministering spirits. But they cannot: and if they could, yet had they not proved that the heavenly saints are intercessors. For not the angels themselves, doubtless, are therefore intercessors, because they offer the prayers of men unto God.

They agree, say they, and are knit unto us in the same knot of charity and love; and for because the spirits of the blessed which live in heaven do love us here in earth, therefore, according to the nature and disposition of this love, they also pray for us. We answer, that they gather this without warrant of scripture. For, that we may without wrangling grant them this, that the saints in heaven are not without the love of their neighbour; yet notwithstanding we add, that this love in the heavenly saints hath not now that nature or disposition, and those offices, which in times past it had in earth. Otherwise, we should attribute many more absurdities to the saints; as though they either did or suffered those things, which they neither do nor yet suffer. Whilst they lived in earth, according to the disposition and nature of love, they were sorry, and they were glad, and they prayed with us, yea, they also made intercession for us: but now that they have put off this corruption and have left us, leading their lives in heaven with the Lord, they neither know our affairs, neither are moved with any earthly affections. They understand that it is passing well with us[1] without their help. They understand likewise that the work of our salvation is already wrought and accomplished[2], so that they may acquiet themselves, and rest from their labours, and rejoice in Christ; who is doubtless the only intercessor with the Father of all men living in their misery, because he knoweth all, and can do all, neither is he moved at, neither wearied or tired with, or yet is ignorant of any thing; but taketh upon him most absolutely and dispatcheth all things, whatsoever are incident or belong to an intercessor. They understand that this glory agreeth unto the only Son of God; and therefore they go not busily about it, that they in Christ's stead might appoint or make themselves in-

[1 nobis abunde consultum esse, Lat.; that we are full well cared for.]

[2 constitutum esse salutis negotium, Lat.; that the work of salvation is ordered.]

tercessors: for here the love that they bear to God surpasseth the love of their neighbour.

But these men object, that the saints pray not in heaven after the rite and fashion of that only intercessor, but after the same manner that they prayed for their fellow-brethren in earth. Even now we said that it did not follow, This they did in earth, therefore they do the same in heaven. Neither can it be proved by manifest scriptures that the saints in heaven pray for us. Why then do they set forth unto us doubtful opinions for certain? For, that we may grant them that the saints pray in heaven, (which thing not a few of the fathers have written[3];) it doth not therefore follow that the saints are to be called upon. For that sentence of St Augustine is very well known, which is read written in his book *De civitate Dei*, XXII. chap. 10: "The Gentiles did both build temples, made altars, ordained priests, and offered sacrifices unto their gods. But we do not erect temples to our martyrs, as unto gods; but remembrances as unto dead men, whose spirits live with God. Neither do we there set up altars, upon which we might sacrifice unto martyrs; but we sacrifice to one God, who is the sacrifice both of the martyrs, and also our sacrifice: according to which sacrifice, as men of God, that have overcome the world in the confession of him, they are named in their place and order. Howbeit, they are not called upon of the priest that sacrificeth, because he is God's priest, and not theirs. Now the sacrifice itself is the body of Christ, which is not offered unto them; because they also themselves are the same[4]." Thus saith he: testifying plainly enough, that the saints are not called upon, or to be called upon, because sacrifice belongeth unto God, and not to the saints.

[3 Bullinger quotes some passages from Cyprian, Augustine, and Jerome, in his treatise, De Orig. Error. capp. 14, 15, 16, 17.]

[4 Denique illi talibus diis suis et templa ædificaverunt, et statuerunt aras, et sacerdotes instituerunt, et sacrificia fecerunt. Nos autem martyribus nostris non templa sicut diis, sed memorias sicut hominibus mortuis, quorum apud Deum vivunt spiritus, fabricamus. Nec ibi erigimus altaria, in quibus sacrificemus martyribus, sed uni Deo et martyrum et nostro sacrificium immolamus; ad quod sacrificium, sicut homines Dei, qui mundum in ejus confessione vicerunt, suo loco et ordine nominantur; non tamen a sacerdote, qui sacrificat, invocantur; quia Dei sacerdos est, non illorum. Ipsum vero sacrificium corpus est Christi, quod non offertur ipsis, quia hoc sunt et ipsi.—Augustin. de Civit. Dei, Lib. XXII. cap. 10. Opp. Tom. v. fol. 302. col. 4. Par. 1531.]

The church calling upon saints.

Wherefore, when the adversaries add, that the church many years called upon the saints, that the church erred not, and therefore they that call upon the saints do not err; we answer, that the church doth not err, when she heareth the voice of her bridegroom and shepherd: but that she doth err, when, neglecting the voice of her shepherd, she followeth her own decrees. The whole church of Israel erred, together with their high priest Aaron and the elders of the people, when, transgressing the law of God, they worshipped God represented by an image with singings and dancings, otherwise than he himself had appointed. Neither are the Israelites absolved from error and sin, for that many years they put not down their high places.

They add again, the saints have helped when they have been called upon; therefore they are to be called upon. Oftentimes that falleth out well which is instituted against the word of God. But who can thereupon gather that that is good which is instituted against the word of God? As though the innocent and harmless were therefore to be spoiled with war, because we see that by war merciless soldiers wax rich. The gods of the Gentiles likewise seemed to hear the petitions of their suppliants; but are the gods of the Gentiles therefore to be called upon?

But we mean not to answer to every one of their arguments, because we have done that already elsewhere, according to our talent[1]. We conclude, therefore, that the word of truth, uttered out of the mouth of God, doth teach us invocation of God's name by the mediation of Jesus Christ: neither do we read that any holy man, either in the old or the new Testament (of whom the scripture undoubtedly hath made mention), called upon any, though never so excellent a patriarch or prophet, departed this life, or upon any apostle, or apostle's disciple, otherwise than by the name of Jesus Christ. Let us therefore hold fast, that that doctrine is most perfect and most safe, which biddeth us all to call upon God alone by his only Son, and that God himself requireth this of every one of us; and that when we obey, we please God.

The last place, touching the serving of God, doth remain behind. This word *colere* is in Latin of large signification.

[1 Bulling. de Orig. Erroris, Lib. I. capp. 18, 19. Tigur. 1539.]

For we say, *colere amicitiam*, to maintain friendship, *colere literarum studia*, to love learning, *colere arva*, to till or husband our lands, and *colere senes*, to reverence old men. We in this place use *colere* for *servire*, that is, in all points like a servant to be dutiful, and to shew himself obedient to reverence, or have in veneration, and to do worship. The Hebricians use their word *abad*, which the Latin interpreter translateth *servivit, coluit*, or *sacrificavit*[2]; that is, he served, worshipped, or sacrificed. In the book of Kings thou dost read: "And Achab served Baal, and worshipped him." The Grecians call this service either λατρεία or δουλεία. The one is taken for the other: though indeed *servire*, to serve, be more than *colere*, to worship: for thou canst abide without any ado to worship some man; but to serve the same, thou canst not so well away withal. We say therefore that the service[3] of God is a service whereby men submit themselves reverently unto God, and obey him, and according to his will worship him. They therefore serve[4] God, which serve[5] him earnestly, behave themselves dutifully in obeying him, serving[6] him inwardly and outwardly, as he hath appointed.

To serve, what it is.

1 Kings xvi.

The service of God.

For the service[7] of God is twofold, or of two sorts; the true and the false. The true is called true religion, true faith, and godliness. The false is called superstition, idolatry, and ungodliness. For that is the true service[7] of God, which springeth from the true fear of God, from a sincere faith, which submitteth itself in all things to the will of God[8]. The false service consisteth in the contrary: touching the which we will say more, when we come to speak of superstition.

The service of God is twofold, or of two sorts.

The true service of God is divided again, for perspicuity or plainness' sake, into the inward service of God, and the outward. The inward service is known to God alone, who is the searcher of hearts. For it is occupied in the fear of God, and perfect obedience, in faith, hope, and charity, from whence do spring the worshipping of God, the calling upon him, thanksgiving, patience, perseverance, chastity, innocency, well-

[2 Exod. xx. 5; vii. 16. Vulgate.]
[3 cultum, Lat.]
[4 colunt, Lat.]
[5 timent, Lat.; fear him.]
[6 colentes, Lat.]
[7 cultus, Lat.]
[8 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, which submitteth itself to God alone, and applieth itself in all things, &c. So Lat.]

The inward service of God.

doing, and the rest of the fruits of the Spirit. For with these gifts of God and spiritual things God, who is a Spirit, is truly served: without these no service is allowed of God, howsoever in the sight of men it seem gay, glorious and pure. This service of God hath testimonies both divine and human; but first of all of the law, the prophets, and the apostles. For

Deut. x.

in the law Moses saith: "And now, Israel, what doth the Lord thy God require of thee, but that thou shouldest fear the Lord thy God, and walk in all his ways, that thou shouldest love him, and that thou shouldest serve the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, that thou shouldest keep the commandments of the Lord, and his ordinances, which I command thee this day for thy wealth?" Micheas the prophet bringeth in one asking questions concerning the true service of God, in what things the same consisteth,

Mic. vi.

and he maketh answer: "I will shew thee[1], O man, what is good, and what the Lord doth require of thee: surely to do justly (or judgment), to love mercy, and to humble thyself to

Rom. xii.

walk with thy God[2]." St Paul the apostle saith: "I beseech you, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye give up your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, (which is) your reasonable serving of God. And fashion not yourselves like unto this world, but be ye changed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is the will of God, and what is good and acceptable and perfect[3]." The same apostle, comprehending in few words the true service of God to be a turning from idols unto God and the faith of Jesus Christ,

1 Thess. i.

saith: "They of Macedonia, and other nations (or quarters), shew of you, how you are turned to God from idols, that ye might serve the living and true God, and look for his Son from heaven, whom he raised from the dead, even Jesus, who delivereth us from the wrath to come." Moreover, St James

James i.

the apostle saith: "Pure religion and undefiled before God the Father is this, to visit the fatherless (or orphans) and widows in their adversity, and to keep himself unspotted of the

[1 So Coverdale, 1535, and Vulgate.]

[2 to be lowly, and to walk with thy God, Coverdale, 1535. et solicitum (Bullinger adds, vel submissum, which word is used in Bibl. Lat. Tigur. 1544) ambulare cum Deo tuo. Vulgate.]

[3 —ut quotidiano docti exercitio tandem discernere possimus, quid Deus velit, quodnam illud bonum et rectum sit, quid illi placeat, et quæ sit illa absoluta felicitas.—Bulling. expos. in loc.]

world[4]." These divine and evident testimonies of holy scripture declare plentifully enough, dearly beloved, which is the true inward service of God. Human testimonies nevertheless, nothing disagreeing from divine, there are many and everywhere found in ecclesiastical writers. Lactantius, lib. *Institut.* vi. cap. 9, saith: "Therefore the knowledge of God and his service is all in all: in this consisteth all the hope and salvation of man: this is the first step (or degree) of wisdom, that we should know who is our true Father, that we should reverence him alone with due godliness, that we should obey him, and most devoutly serve him: and to obtain his favour, let all labour, care, and industry be bestowed[5]." Of this kind the same author citeth[6] other testimonies also largely in the tenth chapter of the same book; and in the first chapter of his book, *de vero Dei Cultu*, he giveth us manifest[7]. But instead of many we like well the citing of that one testimony, touching the true service of God, freely uttered by the mouth of a Roman martyr[8] before judge Asclepiades at the Roman consistory. For after he had both courageously and religiously told what God was in person, and what in substance, he addeth:

The testimony of a Roman martyr concerning the true service of God

> Thou knowest God: now understand as well
> The form and manner how he served is;
> What kind of church it is where he doth dwell;
> What gifts to give he thought it not amiss;
> What vows he asks: whom he (beside all this)
> Will have his priests, and in his church likewise
> What he commands to bring for sacrifice.
>
> Unto himself, even in the mind of man,
> A church he hath vouchsafed up to rear;

God's temple or church.

[4 So ed. 1577: but 1584, 1587, in the world; a mundo, Lat.]

[5 In Dei agnitione et cultu rerum summa versatur; in hoc est spes omnis ac salus hominis: hic est sapientiæ gradus primus, ut sciamus quis sit nobis verus pater, eumque solum pietate debita prosequamur, huic pareamus, huic devotissime serviamus; in eo promerendo actus omnis et cura et opera collocetur.—Lactant. Instit. Lib. VI. cap. 9. p. 576. Lugd. Bat. 1660.]

[6 recitat, Lat.]

[7 et luculentissima de vero Dei Cultu, cap. 1. Lat.; and (the same author) gives the most clear description of the true worship of God in the first chapter (of the same book).—The sixth book of Lactantius' Institutes is entitled, *De Vero Cultu.*]

[8 Rather, of the martyr Romanus.]

A lively, feeling, breathing church, which can
Not sundred be, fair, beautiful, and clear,
And never like destruction's dint to fear,
With lofty top, and painted pleasantly
With colours fresh of great diversity.

God's priest.

At th' holy porch a priest is standing there,
And keeps the doors before the church which been.
Faith is her name, a virgin chaste and clear,
Her hair tied up with fillets like a queen.
For sacrifices simple, pure, and clean,
And which she knows are pleasing, bids this priest
Offer to God, and to his dear Son Christ;

God's sacrifices.

A shamefac'd look, a meek and harmless heart,
The rest of peace, a body pure and chaste,
The fear of God, which sinners doth convert:
The rule likewise of knowledge truly plac'd,
A sober fast from all excessive waste
Of gluttony, an hope which doth not faint,
A liberal hand which gives without restraint.

From these oblations a vapour doth arise,
Which savours sweet by virtue's force compels:
It doth ascend and pierce the azure skies;
The scent of balm and saffron it excels,
Yea frankincense, and Persian spices' smells:
From earth to heaven it mounteth up aloft,
And pleaseth God therewith delighted oft[1].

[1 Cognostis ipsum? nunc colendi agnoscite
Ritum modumque; quale sit templi genus;
Quæ dedicari sanxerit donaria;
Quæ vota poscat; quos sacerdotes velit;
Quod mandet illic nectar immolarier.

Ædem sibi ipse mente in hominis condidit,
Vivam, serenam, sensualem, flabilem,
Solvi incapacem posse, nec destructilem,
Pulchram, venustam, præminentem culmine,
Discriminatis inlitam coloribus.

Illic sacerdos stat sacrato in lumine,
Foresque primas virgo custodit Fides,
Innexa crines vinculis regalibus.
Poscit litari victimas Christo et Patri,
Quas scit placere, candidatas, simplices;

Frontis pudorem, cordis innocentiam,
Pacis quietem, castitatem corporis,
Dei timorem, regulam scientiæ,
Jejuniorum parcitatem sobriam,
Spem non jacentem, semper et largam manum.

And so forth as followeth to this purpose. These things I think sufficient, concerning the inward service of God: wherein I confess in the meanwhile to be somewhat which may be referred also to the outward service of God.

The outward service of God springeth from the inward: neither is it known to God alone, as this other, but is open to the judgment of man; and it is a keeping or executing of the rites instituted of God himself, whereby we do both testify unto men the inward service, and practise them to the glory of God and our profit. Of this kind were among the ancient people the temple, the priesthood, and all the ceremonies instituted of God, which are very often called the service of God. And this service had his appointed limits; for it was not lawful for every one to feign a service of God after their own pleasure, as is shewed at large in the law and in the holy history. The outward service of God.

Now that outward service served to the glory of God and the profit of the faithful: which thing I have declared when I was in hand with the Jewish[2] ceremonies. Furthermore, as Christ abrogated those old rites, so in their stead he placed again a very few. For he instituted an holy assembly, wherein his will is that his word should be preached and expounded out of the holy scripture to his own glory and to our profit; common prayer to be made; and the sacraments to be ministered and received. To which things a convenient place is necessary, fit time, due order, and holy instruments. Where again the godly do in nothing follow their own wills; for from the word of that God, whom they serve, they fetch the whole manner and order of serving him. Whereof somewhat is spoken in the fourth commandment of the first table, and shall be spoken more at large in due place and order.

Ex his amœnus hostiis surgit vapor,
Vincens odorem balsami, turis, croci,
Auras madentes Persicorum aromatum;
Sublatus inde cœlum adusque tollitur,
Et prosperatum dulce delectat Deum.
Prudentii Peristeph. Hymn. xiv. 341—365.

Romanus, whose address to Asclepiades, prefect of the city, is thus versified, was a martyr at Antioch in the fourth century. Magdeb. Centur. Cent. IV. cap. 12.]

[2 Israeliticis, Lat.]

To be short, they serve God with outward service, who by faith and obedience gather themselves into the holy assembly at limited times; who keep the ecclesiastical discipline derived out of the word of God; who hear the word of God, or the holy exposition of the sacred scriptures; who pray publicly with the church; who religiously participate the sacraments; and observe other lawful and wholesome rites or ceremonies. By this their service they glorify God among men, and receive of God no small reward[1], namely, his blessing, and increase of heavenly gifts.

There is no need, I think, in this place, of testimonies of the scriptures, to confirm these things that we have hitherto spoken touching the outward service of God. For everywhere in the history of the Gospel, in the Acts and Epistles of the Apostles, very many are to be found. For the Lord Jesus doth everywhere gather together holy assemblies, to whom he preacheth the gospel, and commendeth prayer. Of Mary sitting at his feet and hearing his preaching he saith: "This one thing is necessary; Mary hath chosen the good part, which shall not be taken from her." And in another place: "Blessed are they," saith he, "which hear the word of God, and keep it." Surely the Lord himself instituted and put in use the sacraments. For to John, not consenting to baptize him at his asking, and saying, "I have need to be baptized of thee, and comest thou to me?" he answered, "Let it be so now: for so it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness." Whereupon the apostle Paul likewise, diligently commending ecclesiastical discipline to the churches, ordained most decently holy assemblies. The places are very well known unto all; 1 Cor. xi. 14, 16; likewise 1 Tim. ii. and elsewhere.

Luke x.

Luke xi.

But before I conclude this place, I will shew that only God is to be served[2]. And surely the service itself, whereof we have hitherto entreated, cannot be bestowed upon any creature, neither angels nor celestial saints; to God alone it agreeth. Wherefore there is none so blind but may see that God alone must be served with these. And when God requireth of us his service or duty, he requireth our whole heart: nothing therefore is left us to bestow upon other. Moses, full of the Spirit of God, saith in his law: "Ye shall

That only God is to be served.

Deut. xiii.

[1 utilitatem, Lat.] [2 colendum, Lat.]

walk after the Lord your God, and fear him; his commandments shall ye keep; and ye shall hearken unto his voice, and ye shall serve him, and cleave unto him." Neither makes it any matter that here the word "alone" is not added, seeing that the words are uttered with an emphasis or force. For when he saith, "Him shall ye serve, and to him ye shall cleave," what other thing do we understand, than to him and not to any other, therefore to him alone? Furthermore, in the sixth chapter of Deuteronomy, thou dost not read, "Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and him alone shalt thou serve, and thou shalt swear by his name;" but, "Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and him" (emphatically) "shalt thou serve, and thou shalt swear by his name." Furthermore, the Lord in the gospel, bringing these words of the law against the tempter, and making the emphasis plain, "It is written," (saith he), "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve." Which testimony doubtless, being most effectual and pithy, is only sufficient for our demonstration, that God alone is to be served. Matt. iv.

I will moreover add hereunto the testimony of a man, howbeit established by divine authority, which we also elsewhere set down in our books. St Augustine, *de Quantitate Animæ*, doth shew that God alone is to be served in this sort: "Whatsoever the soul doth serve as God, needful it is that she think the same better than herself. But we must believe that neither the earth, nor the sea, nor the stars, nor the moon, nor the sun, nor anything at all that may be felt, or seen with these eyes; to be short, not heaven itself, which cannot be seen of us, is better than the nature of the soul: yea rather, that all these are far worse than is any soul, assured reason doth convince[3]." And anon; "If therefore there be any other thing of those that God hath created, something is worse, something is as good: worse, as

[3 Quicquid enim anima colit ut Deum, necesse est ut melius esse quam seipsam putet. Animæ autem natura nec terra, nec maria, nec sidera, nec luna, nec sol, nec quicquam omnino quod tangi aut his oculis videri potest, non denique ipsum, quod videri a nobis non potest, cœlum, melius esse credendum est. Imo hæc omnia longe deteriora esse, quam est quælibet anima, ratio certa convincit.—August. de Quant. Animæ. cap. 34. Opp. Tom. I. fol. 130. col. 4. Par. 1532.]

the soul of a beast; equal, as the angels: but nothing is better: and if happily something of these better, this cometh to pass by sin and not by nature; by which sin notwithstanding it becometh not so ill, that the soul of a beast is either to be preferred before it, or to be compared with it. God therefore alone is to be worshipped of it, who alone is the author of it. And as for any other man, though he be most wise and most perfect, or any soul endued with reason, and most blessed, they are only to be loved and followed; and according to desert and order, that is to be exhibited unto them, which agreeth and is fit for them. For it is written, 'Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve[1].'" These be St Augustine's words. And thus far have we entreated of one only, living, true, and everlasting God to be served.

How saints are to be worshipped.

Moreover, whosoever cleave unto God with a sincere faith, and worship, call upon, and serve one God lawfully, they are rightly named religious: their study and action is true religion. Some will have religion to be derived *a relinquendo*[2], because thereby we leave or forsake false gods, all errors, and earthly desires, and seek after the true God, after truth, and heavenly things. Massurius Sabinus saith: "That is religious, which for some holiness' sake we put by and severally set aside. The word 'religion' hath his name *a relinquendo*, as *Ceremoniæ a carendo*[3]." But M. Cicero supposeth that *Religio* is so called *a relegendo* (of selecting or putting apart), because they that be religious do carefully choose all

Of true religion.

[1 Si quid ergo aliud est eorum quæ Deus creavit, quiddam est deterius, quiddam par: deterius, ut anima pecoris; par, ut angeli: melius autem nihil. Et si quando est aliquid horum melius, hoc peccato ejus fit, non natura; quo tamen non usque adeo fit deterior, ut ei pecoris anima præferenda aut conferenda sit. Deus igitur solus ei colendus est, qui solus ejus est auctor. Homo autem quilibet alius, quanquam sapientissimus et perfectissimus, vel prorsus quælibet anima rationis compos atque beatissima, amanda tantummodo et imitanda est, eique pro merito atque ordine, quod ei congruit, deferendum. Nam Dominum Deum tuum adorabis, et illi soli servies.—August. ibid.]

[2 Vol. II. p. 125, note 4.]

[3 Massurius Sabinus, in commentariis quos de indigenis composuit, Religiosum, inquit, est quod propter sanctitatem aliquam remotum ac sepositum a nobis est; verbum a relinquendo dictum, tanquam cærimoniæ a carendo.—Aul. Gell. Noct. Att. Lib. IV. cap. 9. p. 280. Lugd. Bat. 1700.]

things which seem to belong to the service of the gods. But he is confuted, in many words, of Lactantius Firmianus, an ancient writer of the church, Lib. *Instit.* iv. cap. 28, where among other things he saith: "On this condition we are born, that being born we might do to God just and due service, that we should know him alone, and that him we should follow. With this bond of godliness we are straitly bound and tied unto God; whereupon religion itself took her name." And anon after: "We said that the name of religion was derived from the bond of godliness, because God hath tied and bound man unto himself in godliness: for that it is needful that we serve him as a lord, and obey him as a father[4]." Other ecclesiastical writers also following him, as Hierome and Augustine, derived religion *a religando*, of tying or binding. For Hierome in his commentary upon the ninth chapter of Amos saith: "This bundle tied up with the religion of the Lord, which is one. Religion therefore took her name *a religando*, of tying together, and binding into the Lord's bundle[5]." And Augustine in his book *de Quantitate Animæ*, chapter 36, saith: "True religion is, whereby the soul tieth herself through reconciliation to one God, from whom through sin she had as it were broken away[6]." The same Augustine, in his book *de Vera Religione*, and last chapter, saith: "Let religion tie us unto one God Almighty, whereof it is believed to be named religion[7]."

[4 Hac conditione gignimur, ut generanti (Bullinger read, generati) nos Deo justa et debita obsequia præbeamus; hunc solum noverimus; hunc sequamur. Hoc vinculo pietatis obstricti Deo religati sumus; unde ipsa religio nomen accepit: non, ut Cicero interpretatus est, a relegendo; qui in libro de natura deorum secundo (cap. 28) dicit ita, &c. &c. .... Diximus nomen religionis a vinculo pietatis esse deductum; quod hominem sibi Deus religaverit, et pietate constrinxerit: quia servire nos ei, ut domino, et obsequi, ut patri, necesse est.—Lactant. Instit. Lib. IV. cap. 28.]

[5 Iste fasciculus una Domini religione constrictus est. Unde et ipsa religio a religando, et in fascem Domini vinciendo, nomen accepit. —Hieron. Comment. in Amos. cap. 8. Opp. Tom. III. col. 1448. Par. 1693—1706.]

[6 Est enim religio vera, qua se uni Deo anima, unde se peccato velut abruperat, reconciliatione religat.—Aug. Opp. Par. 1532. Tom. I. fol. 131. col. 1.]

[7 See the quotation, Vol. I. p. 233, note 5. Aug. Opp. Tom. I. fol. 156, col. 3.]

What true religion is.

We say, therefore, that true religion is none other thing than a friendship, a knitting, and an unity (or league) with the true, living, and everlasting God; unto whom we being linked by a true faith do worship, call upon, and serve him alone; upon whom we do wholly depend, living in all things according to his will, or according to the prescript rule and law of his word. Therefore most rightly is the whole matter of salvation and faith comprised in this one word, religion: which elsewhere is called in scripture a league or covenant, and elsewhere again, marriage or wedlock. For as they which be confederate are united and made one by a league; so God and man are knit together by religion: and as by marriage the husband and the wife are made one body, so by religion we are knit into a spiritual body with God, as with our husband, and with the very Son of God, as with our bridegroom and our head. Hitherto therefore doth belong whatsoever things are uttered in the scriptures touching the keeping of the league or covenant, and the faith of marriage. Truce-breakers are they, disloyal, and infamous through their adultery, whosoever, being not knit to one God by faith, worship him alone, call upon him through Christ, and serve him also as he himself hath said in his word he would be served.

The very same are also called superstitious. For superstition is false religion, which doth not serve God but somewhat else for God, or not God alone, or not rightly or lawfully. This word superstition stretcheth itself even to old wives' tales and doting errors: for in Dutch we call superstition, *aberglauben, mis-glauben, und mis-bruch.* But Lactantius, reasoning most exactly of this word, in his fourth book of *Institutions,* and twenty-eighth chapter, writeth in this sort: "Religion is the service of the true God; superstition, of the false. They are said to be superstitious, not that wish their children to outlive them, for that we do all wish; but either they that reverence the memory remaining of the dead; or else they that, while their parents were alive, worshipped their images within their houses, like household gods. For those which did take unto themselves new rites, to the intent they might instead of gods honour the dead, whom they thought were taken from among men and received into heaven; those (I say) they called superstitious: but those

that worshipped and served public and ancient gods they named religious. Whereupon saith Virgil:

> Vain superstition, ignorant
> Of th' old and ancient gods.

But seeing we do find that our ancients have been in semblable manner consecrated gods after their death, they therefore which serve many and false gods are superstitious. But we are religious, which pray and make our supplications to one God, being the true God, &c.[1]"

To leave, or forsake the true God, and to serve strange gods.

Superstition consisteth chiefly in these points; either when the Lord is not served, but other gods in his stead, the only one, true, and living God being left and forsaken; or else when the Lord is served, but not alone, but other together with him; or else when he is served, but not with his lawful service.

In the first kind of superstition did the Gentiles in a manner[2] offend, who knew not the true God; insomuch that they, instead of the true God, worshipped false, feigned, or strange gods. And that the Israelites also, God's people, were sick of the same madness, the holy prophet Jeremy is a witness; who, expostulating and reasoning the matter with the people, saith: "Hear ye the word of the Lord, O house of Jacob, and all the families of the house of Israel. Thus saith the Lord, What iniquity have your fathers found in me, that they are gone far from me, and have walked after vanity, and are become vain? For they said not, Where is the Lord that brought us[3] out of the land of Egypt; that led us through the wilderness, through a desert and waste land, through a dry

Jer. ii.

[1 Superstitiosi vocantur, non qui filios suos superstites optant (omnes enim optamus), sed aut ii, qui superstitem memoriam defunctorum colunt; aut qui parentibus suis superstites colebant imagines eorum domi tanquam deos penates. Nam qui novos sibi ritus assumebant, ut deorum vice mortuos honorarent, quos ex hominibus in cœlum receptos putabant, hos superstitiosos vocabant; eos vero, qui publicos et antiquos deos colorent, religiosos nominabant. Unde Virgilius:

> Vana superstitio, veterumque ignara deorum.

Sed cum veteres quoque deos inveniamus eodem modo consecratos esse post obitum, superstitiosi ergo qui multos ac falsos deos colunt: nos autem religiosi, qui uni et vero Deo supplicamus.—Lactant. Instit. Lib. IV. cap. 28. p. 445. Lugd. Bat. 1660.]

[2 fere, Lat.; generally.]

[3 brought us up out, ed. 1577.]

land, and by the shadow of death, by a land that no man passed through, and where no man dwelt? And I brought you into a plentiful country, to eat the fruit thereof and the commodities of the same: but when ye entered, ye defiled my land, and made mine heritage an abomination. The priests said not, Where is the Lord? and they that should minister the law, knew me not: the pastors also offended against me; and the prophets prophesied in Baal, and went after things that did not profit (or followed idols). Wherefore I will yet plead with you, saith the Lord; and I will plead with your children's children. For go ye to the isles of Chittim, and behold; and send unto Kedar, and take diligent heed; and see whether there be such things. Hath any nation changed their gods, which yet are no gods? But my people have changed their glory for that which doth not profit (or for an idol). O ye heavens, be astonied at this; be afraid, and utterly confounded, saith the Lord. For my people have committed two evils: they have forsaken me, the fountain of living waters, to dig them pits, even broken pits, that can hold no water." Thou dost hear that the people of Israel by an heinous offence, and for the which no amends might be made, forsook God, the lively spring, and digged unto themselves broken pits. The waters do signify the perfit good, wherewith the desire both of the soul and the body may be satisfied. Such a plentiful spring is God alone, the highest, excellentest, and perfittest good. This being forsaken, they digged, that is, with very great pains and costs they provided for themselves, pits; that is, they turned themselves to creatures, to them that are no gods, neither yet are able to satisfy their desires. This mischief even at this day also is common; whiles many, having forsaken God, are turned unto celestial saints, of whom they desire that which was to be desired of God, neither can be given but of God alone.

Here hath idolatry a place, that is, the worshipping of images. For they not only[1] are superstitious, which feign unto themselves false gods, having forsaken the true God; or that put their trust in things of nothing: but they also which worship and reverence the images either of God, or of gods, are also superstitious. For images or counterfeits[2] are set up either to the true God himself, or else to false gods, to

[1 not they only, ed. 1577.] [2 simulacra, Lat.]

creatures (I say) themselves. But it is not lawful by any image or counterfeit to represent the exceeding great, everlasting, and living God world without end. Neither is it lawful to worship or serve him being expressed by an image or likeness: much less therefore is it lawful to consecrate unto creatures images or counterfeits, to worship and serve them. There are very many testimonies of scripture extant against idolatry; as in Exodus xx. Esay xl. xliv. Psalm cxv. 1 Corinthians vi. x. Romans i. Galatians v. 1 Thessalonians i. 1 Peter iv. 1 John v. Jeremy x. &c. Furthermore, I do here diligently admonish the simpler sort, that they suffer not themselves to be deceived. For none can avoid the name of an idolater, that doth worship, reverence, and fear images; that putteth some part of his confidence in them; that lieth along before them; that offereth them gifts; that keepeth them in a place of solemnity and honour; that sticketh up tapers and burneth incense unto them; that loveth, beautifieth, maintaineth, enricheth, and serveth them with any kind of sacrifice or holy service whatsoever. But concerning idolatry we have spoken very largely elsewhere[3].

Not to worship God alone, but to worship other gods also together with the true God. 2 Kings xvii.

Furthermore, they served (who doubts it?) the God of Israel; howbeit not alone, but with the true God other gods also, of whom we read in the history of the kings: "And yet they served," (or feared) "the Lord: and they appointed out priests (even of the basest) unto themselves for the high places, who prepared for them sacrifices in the houses of the high places. And when they served the Lord, they served their own gods also, after the manner of the nations from whence they were brought into Samaria." And again: "So these nations feared the Lord, and served their images also; so did their children, and their children's children: as did their fathers, so do they unto this day." This mischief, in like manner, is altogether common at this day. For a man may find worshippers and servers of God who will at no hand be persuaded that God alone is to be served, yea, boldly affirming that it is flat and damnable heresy to deny that together with God saints are both to be worshipped, called upon, and served. Against whom we have elsewhere[4], and in this our present sermon also, sufficiently disputed.

Here likewise cometh next to hand to be marked the

[3 Decade II. Serm. 2.] [4 Bulling. de Orig. Error. Lib. I.]

diverse manner and sundry fashion of serving God superstitiously. For neither doth he only and alone serve God superstitiously, who indeed first feigneth or imagineth in his mind a God, and then afterwards expresseth the same God by an image or counterfeit, whereunto by and by upon that he offereth sacrifices and incense, and, lying prostrate upon the ground, worshippeth in presence of the same, and suppliantly serveth it with all reverence: but he principally serveth God superstitiously, who doth communicate the incommunicable properties of God to creatures, albeit he express God by no representation, likeness, or counterfeit; or he which thinketh that the gifts, which he hath received from heaven at the hands of God, are given and bestowed upon him of celestial saints. Furthermore, the incommunicable properties of God are, able to do all things, to know all things, to be present in every place, to hear all things, to help, succour, or assist, to be loving, bountiful, just, righteous, and merciful. Verily, Esay, the best learned of the prophets and of singular authority, proveth and convinceth by these most strong and substantial arguments or reasons, that the gods of the Babylonians and Gentiles are no gods: "Because they cannot foretel or know things that are to come hereafter, neither yet can do good or evil." Wherefore, able to enrich and store with all manner of benefits, and to chastise with due deserved punishments; so also to know all things, and to be of power to compass and do all things; they are the properties of God alone, communicable to no creature. He therefore is superstitious, which attributeth these properties to celestial saints, and for that cause doth serve and call upon them. Osee the prophet doth very sore inveigh against the Jews, who gave and attributed to strange gods the gifts of God, insomuch that he nameth the synagogue of such a strumpet or harlot. "I will have no pity" (saith he) "upon her children: for they be the children of fornications. For their mother hath played the harlot: she that conceived them hath done shamefully. For she said, I will go after my lovers, that give me my bread and my water, my wool and my flax, mine oil and my drink." And anon after: "Now she did not know that I gave her corn, and wine, and oil; and multiplied" (or gave her much) "her silver and gold, which they bestowed even upon Baal." And it is a

The properties of God are in no case to be attributed unto strange gods.

Isai. xli. xlii. &c.

God's gifts are not to be attributed to strange gods. Hosea ii.

thing much used at this day, to ascribe unto celestial saints, and not to the only God, the increase of the earth, and the temperate or sharp seasons of the year, as though they came from them. But that is superstition, not godliness or religion.

To serve God, but not lawfully.

Furthermore, God is superstitiously served, when indeed he is served alone, howbeit not after a lawful manner. Unlawful service proceedeth from the will and imagination of men; and it is contrary to the word and ordinance of God. For God is then lawfully served, when he is served according to his own will and word. In the law thus hath the Lord commanded: "Beware that thou seek not after the gods of the Gentiles, saying, How did these nations serve their gods, that I may do so likewise? Thou shalt not do so unto the Lord thy God, &c. (Therefore) whatsoever I command you, take heed you do it: thou shalt put nothing thereto, nor take ought therefrom." Nadab and Abihu offer strange fire unto the Lord: therefore are they burned up in the presence of the Lord with fire from heaven. Oza also perished, because he handled the ark of God otherwise than the Lord had commanded in his law. Micha, in the book of Judges, instituted unto the true God, whose name is Jehovah, an image, an altar, a chapel, and a service: but it is reproved in the sacred scripture, because it was not only not fetched out of the holy scripture, but was in all respects quite contrary and utterly against the law of God. Jeroboam also ordained passing sumptuous service; he instituted cathedral churches, and set up golden images, all to the God of Israel: but for that they were not agreeable to the word of the Lord, they are all, one with another, utterly condemned for execrable and accursed sacrileges. Yea, what we may think in general of all the services which are neither instituted of God, nor agreeing with the word of God, but feigned upon a good intent and meaning of our own, that only testimony of the most excellent prophet Samuel doth declare to us, which he pronounced against Saul and his sacrifices in these words: "Hath the Lord as great pleasure in burnt-offerings and sacrifices, as when the voice of the Lord is obeyed? Behold, to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken (is better) than the fat of rams. For rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft, and transgression is wickedness and idolatry." Here-

Deut. xii.

Levit. x.

[2 Sam. vi.]

Judges xvii.

1 Kings xii. xiii.

1 Sam. xv.

Isai. lxvi. unto maketh that which we read in Esay: "He that killeth a bullock is as if he slew a man; he that sacrificeth a sheep, as if he cut off a dog's neck; he that offereth an oblation, as if he offered swine's blood; he that remembereth incense, as if he blessed an idol. All these things have they chosen in their own ways, and their soul is delighted in their own abominations." Vain therefore and abominable are those services which are not reduced and framed to the pure word of God: for the same prophet saith, "In vain do they serve me, teaching doctrines of men."

Isai. xxix. Matt. xv.

The living, true, and everlasting God, who will and ought only and alone to be worshipped, to be called upon, and to be served, give unto all men true religion, and deliver them from all vain superstition, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen. A. F.

THAT THE SON OF GOD IS UNSPEAKABLY BEGOTTEN OF THE FATHER; THAT HE IS CONSUBSTANTIAL WITH THE FATHER, AND THEREFORE TRUE GOD. THAT THE SELFSAME SON IS TRUE MAN; CONSUBSTANTIAL WITH US: AND THEREFORE TRUE GOD AND MAN, ABIDING IN TWO UNCONFOUNDED NATURES, AND IN ONE UNDIVIDED PERSON.

THE SIXTH SERMON.

THE things themselves and their order do require, that after I have spoken generally of God, of his unity, and of his trinity, I further entreat particularly of the persons of the reverend Trinity; and first of all, of our Lord Jesus Christ, true God and man; then of the Holy Ghost: wherewith if our minds be endued, all things whatsoever we speak and hear shall tend to the glory of God's name, and to the salvation of our souls. Let us therefore pray, &c.

The Son is begotten of the Father, unspeakably, from everlasting.

The everlasting Father, the original and author of all things, begot the Son by an everlasting and unspeakable begetting. For the whole scripture with one agreement doth call God a Father, yea truly, an eternal or everlasting Father. But none is a father of his own self, but a father

of his son: and for because he is the everlasting Father, he must therefore necessarily have an everlasting Son, equal unto himself in all respects, co-eternal, and consubstantial with him. St Paul undoubtedly for the confirmation of this catholic verity allegeth out of the old Testament two testimonies. "Unto which," saith he, "of his angels said God at any time, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee?" and again, "I will be his Father, and he shall be my Son:" all which words he applieth unto Christ Jesus, the Son of God. Of whom also Micheas beareth witness, saying: "And thou, Bethlehem Ephrata, art little to be among the thousands of Judah; yet out of thee shall he come forth unto me, that shall be the ruler in Israel: whose goings forth" (or spreadings abroad)[1] "have been from the beginning and from everlasting." Whereupon the Son of God himself, in the Gospel after John, saith: "Verily I say unto you, Before Abraham was, I am." And John saith: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and God was the Word." But he doth understand by "The Word," not the word which is spoken and so vanisheth, not the counsel of God, but the person of the Son. For by and by he addeth, "And the Word became" (or was made) "flesh." And we do know that the Son of God, not the determination[2] or purpose of God (as heretics do vainly imagine), was incarnate. But he which in time was incarnate was with the Father from everlasting and before all beginnings, and therefore also true God with the true God. For, "The Word," saith he, "was with God, and God was the Word:" because in the beginning, namely, from everlasting, he was with God.

[Heb. i. 5.] Micah v. John viii. John i.

These simple and plain testimonies, delivered unto us out of the scriptures, and therefore most true, concerning the everlasting begetting of the Son by the Father, are sufficient, I think, for them that are not curious. For the scripture doth not here fulfil[3] the vain desires of curious men, neither yet reasoneth of these points subtilly; but rather delivereth and setteth down but a few things, in which it is our parts to believe. But that which the scripture either doth not set down, or else in few words shadoweth out, either we are ignorant of to our health, or else, sticking

[1 emanationes, Lat.] [2 cogitationem, Lat.]
[3 non explet, Lat.]

to that that is set down, we seek not further for more. The holy father Cyril, expounding that saying of the evangelist John, "In the beginning was the Word," saith: "Let us not, seeking things infinite and which cannot be contained within bounds, busy our brains about a consideration that cannot be expressed, and never can have an end. For neither will we grant a beginning of beginning, neither yet will we yield that the Son was begotten of the Father in time: but we will confess that he is with the Father from everlasting. For if he was in the beginning, what mind may be able at any time to climb beyond that WAS? Or when shall we so comprehend in our mind that WAS, that it go not before or outreach our thoughts? Upon good reasons therefore and worthily the prophet Esay, being astonished, crieth out, 'And who shall declare his generation*?' For he, passing all capacity of minds, and being far above and beyond all reason of man, is unspeakable." And anon after he saith: "Because the Son is before all worlds, he cannot be begotten in time: but he is evermore in the Father as in a fountain; as he saith of himself, 'I went out and came from the Father.' For we do understand the Father as a fountain, in whom the Word is his wisdom, his power, the engraven form of his person, his brightness, and his image. Wherefore, if there never were any time wherein the Father was without his wisdom, his power, the engraven form of his person, his brightness, and finally his image; we must of necessity and force confess, that the Son also is co-eternal and everlasting with him, since he is the wisdom, power, &c. of the Father everlasting. For how is he the engraven form of his Father's person, or how is he the most perfect image of his Father, unless he have perfectly obtained and possess the beauty of him, whose image he is? And it is not absurd that we said, the Son is to be understood in the Father as in a fountain. For the name of fountain doth signify nothing else than as from whom: and the Son is in the Father and from the Father; not flowing abroad, but either as brightness from the sun, or as heat from the fire wherewith it is endued. For in these examples we see one from one to be brought forth, and both to be so co-everlasting, that the one can neither be without the other, nor yet keep and retain the quality of their nature. For how shall it be the

* Or age, as other translate it.

sun, if it be deprived of his brightness; or how shall brightness be, unless there be a sun from whence it doth come? And how shall that be fire that wanteth heat? or from whence should heat come but from the fire, or else from somewhat else peradventure not far distant from the substantial quality of fire? As therefore the qualities which proceed from these bodies are together with them from whence they do proceed, and evermore declare from whence they do come; so is it to be understood in the only-begotten. For he is understood to be of the Father, but he is believed to be likewise in the Father: not differing from the nature of his Father, neither yet next his Father second in nature: but always in the Father himself, and with him, and from him, according to the manner of his unspeakable begetting[1]."

[1 Οὐκοῦν ἀρχὴ μὲν ἀρχῆς οὐκ ἔσται, κατὰ τὸν ἀκριβῆ τε καὶ ἀληθῆ λογισμὸν, ἀλλ' εἰς ἀμήρυτον μέντοι καὶ ἀκατάληπτον ὁ περὶ αὐτῆς ἀποδημήσει λόγος. τέλος δὲ οὐκ ἐχούσης τῆς ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀνόπιν φυγῆς, καὶ τὸ τῶν αἰώνων ἀναφοιτώσης μέτρον, οὐκ ἐν χρόνῳ γεγονὼς ἀϊδίως δὲ μᾶλλον ὑπάρχων μετὰ πατρὸς εὑρεθήσεται· ἦν γὰρ ἐν ἀρχῇ· εἰ δὲ ἦν ἐν ἀρχῇ, ποῖος, εἰπέ μοι, δυνήσεται νοῦς τὴν τοῦ ΗΝ ὑπερανίστασθαι δύναμιν; πότε δὲ ὅλως τὸ ΗΝ ὡς ἐν τέλει στήσεται, προανατρέχοντος ἀεὶ τοῦ διώκοντος λογισμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἑπομένης αὐτῷ προαναπηδῶν ἐννοίας; ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὴ ἄρα καταπεπληγμένος ὁ προφήτης φησὶν Ἡσαΐας, Τὴν γενεὰν αὐτοῦ τίς διηγήσεται; ὅτι αἴρεται ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἡ ζωὴ αὐτοῦ. αἴρεται γὰρ ὄντως ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ὁ περὶ τῆς γεννήσεως λόγος τοῦ μονογενοῦς· τοῦτ' ἔστιν, ὑπὲρ πᾶσάν ἐστι διάνοιαν τῶν ὄντων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντα λόγον, ὡς εἶναι λοιπὸν ἀνεξήγητον . . . . . ἐπειδήπερ καὶ αὐτῶν ἐστι τῶν αἰώνων πρεσβύτερος ὁ υἱὸς, τὸ μὲν ἐν χρόνῳ γεγενῆσθαι διαφεύξεται· ἦν δὲ καὶ διὰ παντὸς ὡς ἐν πηγῇ τῷ πατρὶ, κατὰ τὸ παρ' αὐτοῦ λελεγμένον, Ἐγὼ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐξῆλθον καὶ ἥκω. πηγῆς τοιγαροῦν νοουμένου τοῦ πατρὸς, ἦν ὁ λόγος ἐν αὐτῷ σοφία, καὶ δύναμις, καὶ χαρακτὴρ, καὶ ἀπαύγασμα, καὶ εἰκὼν ὑπάρχων αὐτοῦ. καὶ εἰ χρόνος ἦν οὐδεὶς, ὅτε λόγου χωρὶς καὶ σοφίας καὶ χαρακτῆρος καὶ ἀπαυγάσματος ἦν ὁ πατὴρ, ἀνάγκη συνομολογεῖν ἀΐδιον ὑπάρχειν τὸν υἱὸν, ὃς ταῦτά ἐστι τῷ ἀϊδίῳ πατρί. πῶς γὰρ ὅλως ἐστὶ χαρακτὴρ, πῶς δὲ εἰκὼν ἀκριβὴς, εἰ μὴ πρὸς ἐκεῖνο μεμορφωμένος ὁρᾶται τὸ κάλλος, οὗ καὶ ἔστιν εἰκών; ἀδικήσει δὲ ὅλως οὐδὲν τὸ ὡς ἐν πηγῇ τῷ πατρὶ τὸν υἱὸν ὑπάρχειν ἐννοεῖν· μόνον γὰρ τὸ ἐξ οὗ τὸ τῆς πηγῆς ἐν τούτοις ὄνομα σημαίνει. ἔστι δὲ ὁ υἱὸς ἐν πατρὶ καὶ ἐκ πατρὸς, οὐκ ἔξωθεν, ἢ ἐν χρόνῳ γεγονὼς, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑπάρχων οὐσίᾳ, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀναλάμψας, ὥσπερ ἐξ ἡλίου τυχὸν τὸ ἀπαύγασμα αὐτοῦ, ἢ καθάπερ ἐκ πυρὸς ἡ ἔμφυτος αὐτοῦ θερμότης. ἐν γὰρ τοῖς τοιούτοις παραδείγμασιν ἓν μὲν ἐξ ἑνὸς γεννώμενον ἔνεστιν ἰδεῖν, ἀεὶ δ' οὖν ὅμως συνυπάρχον καὶ ἀχωρίστως προσὸν, ὡς δίχα τοῦ ἑτέρου μὴ εἶναι δύνασθαι καθ' ἑαυτὸ τὸ ἕτερον, καὶ διασώζειν ἀληθῆ τὸν τῆς οἰκείας φύσεως λόγον. πῶς γὰρ ὅλως ἥλιος οὐκ ἔχων ἀπαύγασμα, ἢ πῶς ἀπαύγασμα μὴ

Thus far Cyril. And these points surely concerning the Father, and the unspeakable begetting of the Son of God, are stedfastly to be believed according to the scriptures.

A confession concerning Jesus Christ the Son of God our Lord.

Furthermore, touching the Son of God, let us firmly hold and undoubtedly believe, that he is consubstantial (or, of the same substance) with his Father, and therefore true God: that the selfsame Son, being incarnate for us and made man, subsisteth in either nature, as well of God, as also of man; howbeit so that these natures are neither confounded between themselves, nor yet divided: for we do believe one and the selfsame our Lord Jesus Christ to be true God and true man. All and every one of which points throughout their parts we will plainly, and according to the measure of grace that God shall give us, declare unto you.

That the Son is consubstantial with the Father.

About the word *homoousius*, which the Latinists agreeably[1] have translated *consubstantiale*, consubstantial, the ecclesiastical history doth testify that there hath been long and much altercation among the ancient writers. What it signifieth, and how it was taken of that most famous and solemn synod of Nice, the most learned and godly Eusebius Pamphili, bishop of Cæsarea, briefly and pithily expounded in this sort: "In that the Son is said to be consubstantial with the Father, it hath an express signification, for because the Son of God hath no similitude or likeness with creatures that were made, but is resembled and likened to the Father alone who begat him; neither is he of any other substance, essence, or being, than of the Father." And the same Eusebius anon after saith: "Unto which sentence and opinion, in this manner expounded, it appeareth we may well subscribe: seeing we do know that the best learned and famous bishops and interpreters among those that were ancient, reasoning of the Godhead

ὄντος ἡλίου τοῦ ἀπαυγάζοντος αὐτό; πῶς δὲ καὶ πῦρ, εἰ τὸ θερμαίνειν οὐκ ἔχει; πόθεν δὲ τὸ θερμὸν, εἰ μὴ ἐκ πυρὸς, ἢ παρὰ τινὸς ἑτέρου τῆς τοῦ πυρὸς οὐσιώδους ποιότητος οὐ μακράν που κειμένου; ὥσπερ οὖν ἐν τούτοις τὸ ἐνυπάρχειν τὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀναιρεῖ τὴν συνύπαρξιν, ἀεὶ δὲ συντρέχοντα τοῖς γεννῶσι δεικνύει τὰ γεννώμενα, καὶ μίαν ὡς πρὸς αὐτὰ τὴν φύσιν κληρωσάμενα· οὕτω καὶ ἐφ' υἱοῦ. κἂν γὰρ ἐν πατρὶ καὶ ἐκ πατρὸς νοῆται καὶ λέγηται, οὐκ ἔκφυλος ἡμῖν καὶ ξένος ἢ ὡς μετ' αὐτὸν δεύτερος εἰσβήσεται, ἀλλ' ὢν ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ συνυπάρχων ἀεὶ, καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ πεφηνὼς, κατὰ τὸν ἄῤῥητον τῆς θείας γεννήσεως τρόπον.—Cyril. Opp. Lib. I. in Joann. Tom. IV. pp. 11, 2. Lutet. 1638.]

[1 concorditer, Lat.]

of the Father and the Son, used this word *homoousius*." These be Socrates his words in the first book of histories and the eighth chapter[2]. Surely the godly governors of churches, being constrained by the hypocrisy, craftiness, and malice of heretics, did themselves use, and caused others also to use, words most pithy and as little doubtful as might be, whereby partly they might manifestly express the sound truth, and partly discover and reprove, yea, and also thrust out, the deceits and malicious practices of heretics. Arius confessed that the Son of God was God; but in the meanwhile he denied that the Son was consubstantial with his Father: wherefore he declared that he did not sincerely confess the true Godhead of the Son. Neither makes it any great matter, though there be not expressed in the holy scripture some apt and fit word to set out and declare the thing in so many letters as it is written in another tongue, so that that be read to be manifestly expressed in the scriptures, which by the word is signified. Wherefore, if we shew that the Son is of the same substance or nature with the Father, and so equal with and like unto God, and one with him; we have then made sufficient and plentiful demonstration, that the Son is *homoousius*, or consubstantial with the Father. The prophet Zachary, bringing in the person of God speaking, sayeth: "Arise, O thou sword, upon my shepherd, and upon the man that is my fellow (or my co-equal): smite the shepherd, and the sheep (of the flock) shall be scattered abroad." Lo, God calleth the shepherd, that is smitten, his fellow or co-equal. And who is that shepherd that was smitten, the history of the gospel doth declare; pointing out unto us the very Son of God himself, our Lord Jesus Christ. Neither doth it hinder but further our cause, that Hierome readeth not, "The man that is co-equal with me;" but, "The man cleaving unto me." For as he denieth not that *Amith* doth signify co-equal, so he setteth down another word no less effectual. For when he translat- [Zech. xiii. 7.]

[2 Παραστατικὸν δὲ εἶναι τῷ πατρὶ τὸ ὁμοούσιον, τὸ μηδεμίαν ἐμφέρειαν πρὸς τὰ γεννητὰ κτίσματα τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐμφαίνειν· μόνῳ δὲ τῷ πατρὶ τῷ γεγεννηκότι κατὰ πάντα τρόπον ἀφωμοιῶσθαι, καὶ μὴ εἶναι ἐξ ἑτέρας τε ὑποστάσεως καὶ οὐσίας, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ πατρός. Ὃ καὶ αὐτῷ τοῦτον ἑρμηνευθέντι τὸν τρόπον, καλῶς ἔχειν ἐφάνη συγκαταθέσθαι· ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν τινὰς λογίους καὶ ἐπιφανεῖς ἐπισκόπους καὶ συγγραφέας ἔγνωμεν ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ θεολογίας τῷ τοῦ ὁμοουσίου συγχρησαμένους ὀνόματι. —Socrates, Hist. Eccles. Lib. I. cap. 8. p. 25. ed. Reading.]

eth it, "The man cleaving unto me," he would express the inward and very substantial (that I may so term it) inherence or co-equality of the Father and the Son. For he addeth in his commentaries: "And the man which cleaveth unto God, who is it but even he that saith, 'I am in the Father, and the Father in me[1]?'"

[John v. 18.] Again we read in the gospel of John: "The Jews therefore sought to kill Jesus, not only because he had broken the sabbath-day, (ἀλλὰ καὶ πατέρα ἴδιον ἔλεγε τὸν Θεὸν,) but said also that God was his Father, (even his proper, or very own:) making himself (ἴσον) equal to God." Furthermore[2] the Grecians expound ἴσος, that is to say, equal, by this word, ὅμοιος, that is to say, like. Neither can that equality anywhere else have place than in the substance. For the Jews understand that whereof the Arians will be ignorant, that the Lord after a certain peculiar and special manner calleth[3] God his Father; to wit, ἴδιον, his proper or very own Father, by nature or by birth, of whom the Son being naturally begotten is natural and consubstantial with his Father. For it followeth: "Making himself equal to (or with) God," namely in virtue or power, in everlastingness, and essence. For the same Lord sayeth in the same evan-

[John viii. 42.] gelist: "I proceeded and came from God." He did not say only, "I came," but, "I proceeded." He proceeded from the Father such a one in substance as the Father is, surely "Light of light, very God of very God." For he sayeth again to the Jews: "Verily I say unto you, Before Abraham was, I am." He doth not say, "I have been," or, "I will be;" but, "I am;" alluding to the name of the Lord Jehovah, and declaring that the substance of his Godhead is the very same with the substance of the Father, and that he is therefore consubstantial with the Father. For yet again he sayeth

[John x. 30.] more plainly: "I and the Father are one:" one, I say, not

*Identitate et essentia. in concord or agreement, but in *selfsameness and being; for

[1 Super virum cohærentem mihi.... Pro eo quod nos vertimus, super virum cohærentem mihi, id est, προσκεκολλημένον μοι, Aquila interpretatus est, super virum contribulem meum, id est, σύμφυλόν μου: Symmachus, super virum populi mei, quod Hebraice dicitur *Amithi*. Jerome proceeds to explain "vir cohærens Deo," by John xiv. 10, and Luke xxiii. 46.—Hieron. Opp. Tom. III. p. 1789. Par. 1704.]

[2 cæterum, Lat.; now.]

[3 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577 *called;* appellasse, Lat.]

in that place the power and majesty of God are handled. And when the Jews would without further stay stone the Lord to death, having spoken these words, they declared plainly enough after what sort they understood his words: for they stoned blasphemers to death, who with revilings either impaired God's glory, or else usurped and took the same unto themselves.

Hitherto belongeth that which Paul speaketh concerning the Son of God, saying: "Who is the image of the invisible God, the first-born of all creatures, because all things were created by him." For if he be the image of the invisible God, he must needs be fellow (or co-equal) with God. For in another place Paul calleth the same Christ, "the engraven form of God, and his express image," and answerable in all respects most truly to his pattern or first figure. An image verily and likeness is of things that are not unequal or unlike, but of things equal and like. And he is called "the first-born," because he is Prince and Lord[4], not that he is reckoned among creatures. For all things that were made, by him they were made: therefore he is no creature, but true God, to wit, of the nature and substance of God, one with the Father.

[Col. i. 15.]

[Heb. i. 3.]

The same apostle saith to the Philippians, that the Son is "in the form (or shape) of God." But to be in the form (or shape) of God is nothing else than in all respects to be fellow (or equal) with God, to be consubstantial with him, and so indeed God himself. For what it is to be in the form or shape of God, is by the contrary clause very manifestly declared. For it followeth: "He took upon him the form of a servant." Which is again expounded by that which followeth: "Being made in the likeness of men;" that is to say, being made very man, unlike in nothing to all other men, sin excepted; which in another place is plainly expressed. And here he addeth again; "And found in figure as a man." Therefore, to be in the form of God is to be co-equal and consubstantial with God: for he addeth, "He thought it no robbery to be equal with God." For robbery is the taking away of that which another doth owe; for it is possessed by injury. The Son therefore is co-equal with the Father, and true God by nature and after the most proper manner. And this is the meaning of St Paul his words: Albeit the Son were

[Phil. ii. 6—8.]

[Heb. iv. 15.]

[4 See Vol. II. p. 130.]

of the same glory and majesty with the Father, and could have remained in his glory without humiliation or debasement; yet had he rather abase himself, that is to say, take unto him the nature of a man, and cast himself into dangers, yea, even into death itself. For otherwise according to his Godhead he suffered no change; for God is unchangeable, and without variableness.

Since the case so standeth, godly is the saying of St Ambrose in his book *de Fide* against the Arians, and fifth chapter: "Seeing therefore thou dost know this unity of substance in the Father and the Son, not only by the authority of the prophets, but also of the gospel; how sayest thou that *Homoousius*, consubstantial, is not found in the sacred scriptures? as though *Homoousius* were somewhat else than that he saith, 'I went out from God the Father;' and, 'I and the Father are one[1]?'" &c. The scholar, St Augustine, following his master, Ambrose, in his controversy had with Pascentius confirmeth *Homoousius* by places of scripture, and declareth that this is holily used in our faith and religion[2]. The same doth he also in his third book against Maximinus, bishop of the Arians, and fourteenth chapter[3]. But what needeth heaping up of more words? For I trust it is plainly enough declared by evident places of holy scripture, that the Son is consubstantial with the Father, and that so it must be believed. We hope also that in the treatise following this selfsame point shall not a little be made manifest by testimonies of scriptures.

[1 Cum ergo hanc unitatem substantiæ in Patre et Filio non solum prophetica sed et evangelica auctoritate cognoscas; quomodo dicis in scripturis divinis ὁμοούσιον non inveniri, quasi aliud sit ὁμοούσιον quam quod dicit, Ego de Patre exivi; et, Ego et Pater unum sumus?—De Fide Orthodoxa cont. Arrian. cap. 5. Ambros. Opp. Tom. II. Append. col. 352. Par. 1686—90. The Benedictines consider this not to be a work of Ambrose. See also James on Corrupt. of Script. &c. p. 31. ed. 1843.]

[2 Homoousion, quod in auctoritate divinorum librorum cogebamur ostendere, etiam si vocabulum ipsum ibi non inveniamus, fieri posse ut illud inveniamus, cui hoc vocabulum recte adhibitum judicetur.—Aug. Pascent. Ep. 173. Opp. Par. 1532. Vol. II. fol. 150. col. 3.]

[3 Hoc et illud homoousion, quod in concilio Niceno adversus hæreticos Arianos a catholicis Patribus veritatis auctoritate et auctoritatis veritate formatum est. . . . Quid est, inquam, homoousion nisi, Ego et Pater unum sumus?—Id. Vol. VI. fol. 151. col. 1.]

That the Son of God is true and very God.

Arius with his complices denied that the Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, is true God. But the most true scripture doth so evidently prove and confirm it, that none which loveth the truth from his heart can doubt anything at all thereof. We will presently[4] cite some testimonies and arguments that are most plain and apparent, whereby, through the assistance of the Holy Ghost, our faith may be established, and the catholic and sound truth itself made manifest.

In the third chapter of Matthew, the heavens are opened to our Lord as he was baptized by John Baptist, and the Holy Ghost came down in the likeness of a dove, and alighted upon the head of our Lord Jesus Christ; and forthwith was a voice heard out of the clouds, pronounced by the glorious God in this sort: "This is my beloved Son, in whom my soul is well pleased." And John saith in his gospel[5]: "I saw the Spirit descending from heaven in the likeness of a dove, and it abode upon him; and I knew him not, but he that sent me to baptize with water, he said unto me, Upon whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending and abiding upon him, this is he which doth baptize with the Holy Ghost. And I saw and bare witness that this is the Son of God." Hereunto belongeth that which Peter, being asked of the Lord, "But whom do ye say that I am?" answered in the name of all the disciples; "Thou art that Christ, the Son of the living God." And again, the Lord objecting this, "Will you also be gone?" Peter again made answer in the name of them all; "Lord, unto whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of everlasting life. And we believe and have known, that thou art Christ, the Son of the living God." We also verily are called the sons of God, howbeit by adoption: but Christ not by adoption, neither by imputation, but by nature. For in the fourteenth chapter of Mark the high priest saith unto our Lord: "Art thou Christ, the Son of the blessed?" In Matthew also the same high priest saith: "I adjure" (or charge) "thee by the living God, that thou tell us whether thou be[6] the Son of the living God. Jesus answered, I am. For ye shall see the Son of man sitting at the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of hea-

[John i. 32—34.]

Matt. xvi.

John vi.

Christ is the natural son of God.

[Matt. xxvi. 63, 64.]

[4 in præsenti, Lat.]

[5 Et Joannes Baptista apud Joannem Evangelistam, Lat.]

[6 Christus, Lat. omitted.]

ven." Which appeareth to be repeated out of the seventh chapter of Daniel. Furthermore, they bring this confession of the Lord before Pilate as blasphemous, and not to be
John xix. satisfied but with death, crying: "We have a law, and according to our law he ought to die; because he made himself the Son of God." But they themselves in the history of
John viii. the gospel thunder out these words against the Lord: "We are not born of fornication; we have one Father, even God." It is certain therefore, that the Jews accused our Saviour for none other cause of high treason committed against God's majesty, than for that he named himself the natural, not the adopted, Son of God; for the first did not deserve death, but the last was worthy of death[1]. For we read also in the fifth of John: "Therefore the Jews sought the more to kill him[2], not only because he had broken the sabbath-day, but also for that he said that God was his Father, making himself equal with God," (or God's fellow.)

Lo, thou hast the manner how he called himself the Son of God, not by adoption, or reputation, but by nature and substance. For yet again the Lord himself objecteth this to
John x. them that would have stoned him: "Many good works have I shewed you from my Father: for which of these good works do ye stone me? The Jews answered again, saying, For thy good works" (or well-doing) "we do not stone thee, but for blasphemy; namely, because thou, being a man, makest thyself God." Lo, what could be spoken more plainly? "Thou makest thyself God." And what, I pray you, had he spoken, whereof they gathered these things? "I give unto my sheep everlasting life, neither shall they perish for ever, neither shall any pluck them out of my hand. My Father which gave them me is greater than all: and none can pull them out of my Father's hand. I and the Father are one." To give life everlasting doth belong to the power of God: to preserve, and so to preserve that none may be able to pluck them out of his hands, belongeth to the same power. Now the Lord proveth this[3] saying with this argument or

[1 Rather, For the last did not deserve death, but the first was worthy of death. Hoc enim non erat capitale, illud erat capitale, Lat.]

[2 Jesum, Lat.]

[3 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577 *his* saying; suam assertionem, Lat.]

reason: None is able to pull the sheep out of my Father's hands: therefore none can pull them out of my hands. The proof of his antecedent, Because the Father is greater than all; that is to say, is the greatest of all, whose divine power is above all. The proof of his consequent, Because I and my Father are one; to wit, not in will and agreement only, but in majesty also and power, whereof we do at this present entreat; not of concord or agreement, but of power to make alive and to preserve. Touching which the Lord himself most plentifully discourseth throughout the whole fifth chapter of St John's gospel, shewing that he forgiveth sins, that by his power he maketh alive and raiseth up from the dead, even as his Father doth; therefore that he is of one and the same divine power and majesty with God the Father. These things are so evident, plain, and manifest, that albeit we had none other testimony[4], yet these may abundantly suffice to prove the assertion of the true divinity or very Godhead of the Son of God, that the Son indeed is true and very God.

Again the selfsame our Lord and Saviour with great liberty of speech and plainness of words, without any manner[5] of riddle, dark sentence, and obscurity of words, openly and expressly saith to his disciples: "Let not your heart be troubled (or vexed). You believe in God, believe also in me. I am the way, the truth, and the life. He that hath seen me hath seen the Father. Do ye not believe that I am in the Father, and the Father in me?" And certain it is that Christ our Lord is the heavenly doctor or teacher, the most constant defender of the truth, who neither hath seduced neither yet could seduce and lead out of the way, no, not so much as one. But [he] biddeth us believe in him as true and very God. Therefore our Lord and Saviour is true and very God. For in another place he saith most plainly: "I am the lively bread (or the bread of life) that came down from heaven: he that believeth in me hath life everlasting." John xiv. John vi.

He again in the gospel plainly pronounceth, and saith: "Father, the hour is come; glorify thy Son, that thy Son may also glorify thee: as thou hast given him power of all flesh, that so many as thou hast given him, he might give them life John xvii.

[4 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577 testimonies; testimonia, Lat.]
[5 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577 *all* manner.]

everlasting. And this is everlasting life, that they should know thee only true God, and whom thou hast sent, Jesus Christ." By which words he hath expressly proved both the unity of God (that is to say, that there is but one God), against the Ethnicks who worshipped many gods; and notably touched the distinction of the persons, in the meanwhile likewise declaring himself to be very God with the Father. For by and by he addeth: "Glorify thou me, O Father, with thine own self, with the glory which I had with thee before this world was."

Here I think must not be over-slipped of me the argument of Tertullian, which I will recite unto you, dearly beloved, out of his book, *De Trinitate*, wherein he doth gather together very many most sound and strong reasons of Christ his divinity or Godhead. "If (saith he) Christ be only man, why hath he appointed and set us down such a rule to believe, wherein he should say, 'And this is life everlasting, that they might know thee the only true (or very) God, and whom thou hast sent, Jesus Christ?' If also he would not be known to be God, why doth he add, 'And whom thou hast sent, Jesus Christ,' but for that he would be taken also for God? Because, if he would not be known to be God, he would have added, 'And whom thou hast sent, the man Jesus Christ:' but now Christ neither hath added, neither yet hath delivered unto us in doctrine, that he is man only, but hath joined himself to God; to the end he would be known by this conjunction or joining together, that he also is God, as indeed he is. We must therefore believe, according to the prescript rule, in one Lord true and very God; and consequently in him whom he hath sent, Jesus Christ: who had at no hand (as we have said) joined himself to the Father, unless he would be known to be God also. For he would have separated himself from the Father, if he would not have been known to be God. For he would have placed himself among men only, if he had known that he was man only: neither would he have joined himself with God, if he had not also known himself to be God. Now also touching as he is man, he saith nothing; because no man doubteth that he is man: and he joineth himself to God not without good cause, that he might set down a form of his divinity or Godhead to them that should believe. If Christ be only man, how is it that he saith, 'And now

glorify me with the glory which I had with thee before the world was?' If before the world was he had glory with God, and possessed glory with the Father, then was he before the world. Neither had he had glory, if he had not been afore, that he might possess glory: for none can have a thing, unless he which possesseth the thing be afore. But Christ had glory before the creation of the world; therefore he was before the creation of the world. For if he had not been before the creation of the world, he could not have had glory before the creation of the world, when he himself was not. But he could not as a man[1] have glory before the creation of the world, who then was[2], when the world was made. But Christ had glory; he was therefore before the world was made: he was not therefore man only, who was before the world was made. Therefore he is God, because he was before the world was made, and possessed glory before the world was made[3]." After these words Tertullian doth

[1 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577 as man.]

[2 Rather, who then was *not*. See Latin original.]

[3 Si homo tantummodo Christus, quare credendi nobis talem regulam posuit, quo diceret, Hæc est autem vita æterna, ut sciant te unum et verum Deum, et quem misisti Jesum Christum? Si noluisset se etiam intelligi, cur addidit, Et quem misisti Jesum Christum; nisi quoniam et Deum accipi voluit? Quoniam si Deum nollet intelligi, addidisset, Et quem misisti hominem Jesum Christum. Nunc autem neque addidit, nec se hominem nobis tantummodo Christus tradidit, sed Deo junxit, ut et Deum per hanc conjunctionem, sicut est, intelligi vellet. Est ergo credendum secundum præscriptam in Dominum unum verum Deum, et in eum quem misit Jesum Christum consequenter; qui se nequaquam Patri, ut diximus, junxisset, nisi Deum quoque intelligi vellet: separasset enim ab eo, si Deum intelligi se noluisset. Inter homines enim tantummodo se collocasset, si hominem se esse tantummodo sciret; nec cum Deo junxisset, si se non et Deum nosset. Nunc et de homine tacet, quoniam hominem illum nemo dubitat; et Deo se jungit merito, ut crediturus divinitatis suæ formulam poneret. Si homo tantummodo Christus, quomodo dicit, Et nunc honorifica me gloria quam habebam apud te priusquam mundus esset? Si antequam mundus esset gloriam habuit apud Deum, et claritatem tenuit apud Patrem, ante mundum fuit; nec enim habuisset gloriam, nisi ipse prius fuisset, qui gloriam posset tenere: nemo enim habere aliquid poterit, nisi ante ipse fuerit qui aliquid tenet. Sed enim Christus habet gloriam ante mundi institutionem: ergo ante institutionem mundi fuit. Nisi enim ante institutionem mundi esset, ante mundi institutionem gloriam habere non posset, quum ipse non esset. Sed enim homo gloriam ante mundi institutionem habere non potuit,

shew, that these things are not meant of the predestination, but of the substance, of Christ. But thus far of this.

St Paul the apostle in his epistle to the Romans declareth in plain words not once or twice, that our Lord Jesus Christ is true and very God. For he speaking of Christ in his ninth
Rom. ix. chapter saith: "Which is God in all things to be praised for ever." The words are very well known which the same apostle writeth in his first epistle to the Corinthians, and eighth chapter. St John the apostle and evangelist doth so manifestly declare the divinity or Godhead of the Son in his canonical epistle, that he which seeth and perceiveth it not is blind both of body and mind. In the end of the epistle he
1 John ix. saith: "We know that the Son of God is come, and hath given us a mind, that we should know him who is true: and we are in him that is true, in his Son Jesus Christ. This same is true (or very) God, and eternal (or everlasting) life."

Acts xvii. Now it is God by "whom we live, move, and have our being," as Paul witnesseth: but by Christ our Lord we live, move, and have our being, as he himself hath expressly taught in the gospel after John: Christ therefore is true and very God.

In the forty-third and forty-fifth chapters of Esay the Lord saith: "I am, I am the Lord; and there is no Saviour without me. A just God and a Saviour, there is none beside me."
Jer. xxiii. But Jeremy in his twenty-third chapter calleth Christ the son of David, Jehovah, and our Righteousness. Likewise in Esay
Isai. xlix. the Father speaking of his Son saith: "I have given (or made) thee the light of the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my health unto the end of the world." Moreover, seeing there is no other God but one, none other salvation and righteousness save that divine righteousness only, it followeth consequently, doubtless, that Christ is true and very God, in all respects co-equal with his Father.

Isai. xlv. In the same Esay the Lord saith: "I have sworn by mine ownself, the word of righteousness shall go out of my mouth, and it shall not be drawn back again: because every knee

qui post mundum fuit: Christus autem habuit; ante mundum igitur fuit. Non igitur homo tantummodo fuit, qui ante mundum fuit. Deus est igitur, quoniam ante mundum fuit, et gloriam ante mundum tenuit.—Tertull. Opp. Novatian. de Trinitate. cap. 24. p. 723. Par. 1664. See above, p. 129, note.]

shall bow unto me, and all tongues shall swear (by my name)[1]." And Paul saith: "There is a name given unto Christ which is above all names, that in the name of Jesus everything[2] should bow, of things in heaven, of things in earth, and of things under the earth; and that every tongue should confess that the Lord is Jesus Christ, to the glory of God the Father." It must needs be therefore that Christ is true and very God. For seeing he is worshipped and also served, seeing we confess him to be Lord; that surely turneth not to the reproach and ignominy, but to the honour and glory, of God the Father. For in the gospel after John thus saith the Lord: "The Father hath given all judgment (to wit, all jurisdiction, and all government, all glory, power, and authority) to the Son; that all might honour the Son as they honour the Father. He that honoureth not the Son, honoureth not the Father that sent him." Hereunto therefore belongeth that[3] which we read in the prophet Esay: "I the Lord, *Hu* (or, myself[4]) is my name[5], and my glory I will not give to another," (or to a stranger, &c.) But he giveth his glory to the Son: he therefore in his substance, according to his divinity or Godhead, is not a stranger or severed from the Father, albeit he be acknowledged to be another several person. What doth the Lord in the gospel after John say? "And now, O Father, glorify thou me with thine ownself with the glory which thou gavest me with thee before this world was?" No, but, "which I had with thee ere the world[6] was." "I had," saith he, not, "I received;" albeit the scripture doth oftentimes use this word for the mystery of dispensation.

Phil. ii.

John v.

Isai. xlii.

John xvii.

In Micheas the Christians say: "All people (one with another) walk in the name of their God: as for us, we will walk in the name of our God." Furthermore, they walk in the name and the way of Jesus Christ, saying in the gospel, "I am the way," and "the door:" "I am the light of the world; he that followeth me doth not walk in darkness." That Christ therefore is God, who is he that can be ignorant? For the Lord saith in Ezechiel, "I will feed my flock myself alone:" and anon he addeth, "My servant David shall feed it;" meaning Christ, the son of David, that only universal

Mic. iv.

John x. xiv. viii.

Ezek. xxxiv.

[1 The translator's addition.] [2 genu, Lat.; knee.]
[3 iterum, Lat. omitted; again.] [4 I myself, ed. 1577.]
[5 See above, page 132.] [6 hic mundus, Lat.; this world.]

pastor or shepherd of the church, and therefore true God. For the universal pastor or shepherd must be a king and a priest[1], must be everlasting, must know all things, must be omnipotent, must be present with all men in all places. The Son of God therefore is true and very God, because he is the Messias.

Furthermore, what is more manifest and less called in
Mark ii. controversy, than that God only forgiveth sins? It must needs be therefore, that nothing is more evident and less doubtful, than that we believe Christ to be true and very God, because
John i. "He is the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world."

1 Tim. i. Again, whereas Paul truly calleth Christ "our hope;"
Isai. xi. (for Esay foretold, "In him shall the Gentiles trust;") and
Jer. xvii. whereas Jeremy crieth, "Cursed be the man that putteth his trust in man, but blessed is the man that putteth his trust in God;" we must necessarily confess that Christ is God. For in John he oftentimes repeateth: "Verily I say unto you, he that believeth in me hath everlasting life."

I could bring innumerable examples of this kind out of the scriptures, which witness that the Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, is of one and the selfsame nature with the Father, and therefore is very God of very God: but I trust that to holy hearers and not given to contention those which I have already cited will suffice.

Of the incarnation or true humanity of Christ. It remaineth that we declare unto you, that the Son of God was incarnate for us, and was born very man of the virgin Mary, consubstantial, or of the selfsame substance, with us in all points, sin excepted. The law, the prophets, and the apostles, shew unto us most manifest arguments of the true flesh or humanity of the Son of God.

Gen. iii. For in the law the Lord saith: "The Seed of the woman shall crush the serpent's head." But who knoweth not that the head of the serpent is the kingdom, force, or power of the devil? And that Jesus Christ brake this power, the whole scripture doth witness. And here he is called the Seed of the woman. And truly he is called seed, to verify his true human nature: and he is termed the seed of the woman, not of the man, because of his conception by the

[1 Rather, For the universal Shepherd, King and Priest, must be, &c.]

Holy Ghost, and his birth of the virgin Mary. And because she was the daughter of David, of Abraham, and Adam, it followeth that the son of Mary was very man. For as we have heard it said to Adam, "The Seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head;" so also we read that the same promise was renewed and repeated to Abraham in these words: "In thy seed shall all the nations of the world be blessed." And Paul to the Galatians manifestly saith, that this Seed of Abraham, wherein we have obtained blessing, is Christ Jesus. The same apostle saith, "For in no sort took he the angels, but he took the seed of Abraham:"—by angels doubtless excluding all manner of spiritual substances: by the seed of Abraham understanding the very substance itself of the flesh of man. For he addeth: "Wherefore in all things it became him to be made like unto his brethren. And because they be partakers of flesh and blood, he also himself likewise took part with them (of the same)." Verily, the scripture draweth the lineal descent of Christ most diligently from the loins of Abraham unto Jacob, and from him again to Judas, and from him in like sort to David. To him again the promises of the incarnation of the Son of God are renewed. For Nathan saith to David: "Thus saith the Lord, When thy days be fulfilled, thou shalt sleep with thy fathers, and I will set up thy seed after thee, which shall proceed out of thy body, and will stablish his kingdom: he shall build a house for my name, and I will stablish the throne of his kingdom for ever." Neither is there any cause why any man should interpret this of Salomon. For he was born while his father David lived, and his kingdom quickly decayed. But Nathan speaketh of a son which should be born to David after his death: "When thou shalt sleep with thy fathers," saith he, "I will set up thy seed after thee." And what manner of seed this should be, he most evidently declareth, and saith, "which shall proceed out of thy body." For in the 132nd Psalm we read; "Of the fruit of thy body will I set upon thy seat."

Gen. xxii. Gal. iii. Heb. ii. Heb. ii. 2 Sam. vii.

Furthermore, Mary the virgin descended lineally from the seed[2] of David, of whom Christ our Lord was begotten and born, of whom the angel speaking, and expounding those old and ancient prophecies, saith unto the virgin: "And the

Luke i.

[2 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577 *of* the seed.]

Lord God shall give unto him the seat of his father David, and he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever, and of his kingdom there shall be none end." Hereunto also belongeth that which Elisabeth saith to the virgin which came out of Galilee into the hill-country of Juda: "And whence cometh this to me, that the mother of my Lord should come to me? Blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the
Matt. i. Luke iii. fruit of thy womb." Truly Matthew and Luke draw the lineal descent of Christ from the loins as it were[1] of David even unto the virgin Mary, which conceiveth by the Holy Ghost, that is, the Holy Ghost making her fruitful. She, when the months were fulfilled that she should be delivered, brought forth a son: and he which is born in all respects appeareth to be true and very man: he is laid in a manger, wrapped in swathling clouts; he grew in stature, and increased in years, according to the manner of man's body; he is wearied, he is refreshed, he is glad, he is sad, he is hungry, he is thirsty, he eateth, he drinketh, he feareth, and, to be short, he dieth: which the truth of the history of the gospel in many words declareth.

Matt. i. John ii. Neither is the scripture itself ashamed to call Mary the mother of our Lord, not the putative or supposed, but the true and natural mother, which of the substance of her own body gave true flesh and substance of man to the Son of God; the angel of God so witnessing with Esay, and say-
Isai. vii. Luke i. ing, "A virgin shall conceive in her womb, and shall bring forth a son." Lo, he saith, "in her womb." And again, in
Matt. i. Matthew the selfsame angel saith, "That which is conceived in her is of the Holy Ghost." Whereupon the apostle unto
Gal. iv. the Galatians saith, that "the Son of God is made of a woman," to wit, according to man's nature. For Christ is the fruit of the body of David, and of the virgin Mary, begotten and born of the loins of David: and John also, the apostle
John i. and evangelist, saith, "The word was made flesh, and dwelt among us." In calling God flesh, doubtless he calleth him very man. For the same apostle in another place saith:
1 John iv. "Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is of God; and every spirit which confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is not of God." Therefore we freely pronounce that Valentinus, Marcion, Apelles,

[1 ex prosopia et veluti lumbis, Lat.]

and Manichæus, denying the true and very flesh of Christ, are of the devil; and therefore that they by all means, together with all their disciples and sectaries, are to be avoided. This treatise of the true flesh of Christ we knit up with these most plain words of Paul: "When Christ was in the form of God, he made himself of no reputation, taking on him the form of a servant, and made in the likeness of men, and found in figure as a man. He humbled himself, being made obedient unto death, even the death of the cross." Wherefore it is without doubt, that the Son of God took true and human flesh, and in the same is consubstantial or of the selfsame substance with us in all points, sin excepted. Phil. ii.

Neither did our Lord, after he was risen again from the dead, though he were glorified, put off or lay aside his true body which he had once taken and put on; and his glorification doth not take away the truth of his nature. For he saith unto his disciples, "A spirit hath not flesh and bones as ye see me have." Wherefore he carried that his true and very flesh into heaven with him; in his true flesh he appeareth always for us in the sight of God the Father; in his true flesh he will come to judge the quick and the dead; in his true flesh they shall see him which crucified[2] him. Christ according to this nature (who in respect of his Godhead is no creature, but a Creator) is a creature; for the flesh of Christ hath beginning, and lineally descended from Adam, who is the creature of the living God. And albeit these things be sufficiently fenced with the force of the scriptures, yet it shall not seem irksome unto you, dearly beloved, to rehearse the opinion of the blessed father Cyril, which concerning the same matter he hath left written in his epistle unto Successus, bishop of Isauria diocese[3], in these words: "Because I found in your advertisement such a kind of thing, as though the holy flesh of Christ, the Saviour of us all, were turned into the nature of his deity after his resurrection, so that now he should seem to be wholly and solely God, we thought good also to make answer unto this." And a few words after: "After the resurrection certainly it was the

The Lord, after he was risen, laid not aside his true and very body.

[Luke xxiv. 39.]

[2 confixerunt, Lat.; which pierced.]

[3 Isauriæ Diocæsariensis, Lat. Diocæsarea was one of the dioceses in the province of Isauria, and under the patriarchate of Antioch.—Bingham, Antiq. of Christ. Ch. Book IX. chap. 3. § 16.]

selfsame body which suffered, but yet not having now in itself man's infirmities. For we affirm not that it abideth hunger, labour, or any such like thing, but we confess that now it is incorruptible: and not this only, but also that quickeneth and giveth life. For it is a body that both hath and giveth life, that is to say, of the only-begotten Son of God; and it is glorified with the most worthy brightness of God; and it is known and taken to be the body of God. Therefore if any man say that that is God's body, as the body of a man is man's body, he swerveth not from allowable reason. Whereupon I think that most blessed Paul also said, 'Though we have known Christ after the flesh, now yet henceforth know we him no more.' For being, as I said, the proper body of God, it far passeth all human bodies. But a body made of earth could not abide to be turned into the nature of the deity or Godhead. For this is impossible: otherwise we abase the Godhead, as if it were made, and as if it had taken somewhat into itself which according to nature doth not properly belong to it. Hereby it is proved to be as much folly to say that the body is turned into the nature of the Godhead, as that which is the Word to be changed into the substance of flesh. For as this is impossible, because it is proved to be a body not able to be turned and changed; so also it is not possible that any creature can be turned into the essence or nature of the Godhead: but flesh is also created; and therefore we say that the body of Christ is divine, because it is the body of God, and beautified with unspeakable glory. And now let us confess that it is uncorruptible, holy, and giving life: but that it is changed into the nature of the Godhead, neither have any of the holy fathers so thought or taught, neither do we so think[1]." Thus

2 Cor. v.

[1 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ εὗρον ἐν τῷ ὑπομνηστικῷ ἔμφασίν τινα λόγου τοιαύτην, ὅτι μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν τὸ ἅγιον σῶμα τοῦ πάντων ἡμῶν σωτῆρος Χριστοῦ εἰς θεότητα, φησὶ, μετακεχώρηκεν, ὡς εἶναι τὸ ὅλον θεότητα μόνην, δεῖν ᾠήθην καὶ πρός γε τοῦτο εἰπεῖν. . . . Μετά γε τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἦν μὲν αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα τὸ πεπονθὸς, πλὴν οὐκέτι τὰς ἀνθρωπίνας ἀσθενείας ἔχον ἐν ἑαυτῷ· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι πείνης, ἢ κόπου, ἢ ἑτέρου τῶν τοιούτων τινὸς δεκτικὸν εἶναι φαμὲν αὐτό· ἀλλὰ λοιπὸν ἄφθαρτον· καὶ οὐχὶ τοῦτο μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ζωοποιόν· ζωῆς γὰρ ἔστι σῶμα, τοῦτ' ἐστι, τοῦ μονογενοῦς· κατελαμπρύνθη δὲ καὶ δόξῃ τῇ θεοπρεπεστάτῃ, καὶ νοεῖται Θεοῦ σῶμα. Τοιγάρτοι, κἂν εἴ τις αὐτὸ λέγοι θεῖον, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸ ἀνθρώπινον, οὐκ ἂν ἁμάρτοι τοῦ πρέποντος λογισμοῦ. Ὅθεν οἶμαι καὶ τὸν σοφώτατον Παῦλον

far Cyril. And Theodoretus, bishop of Cyrus, *Dialog.* II. *Eranist.* saith: "I will shew that the body of the Lord, yea, after the ascension, was called a body. Hear Paul therefore saying, 'Our conversation is in heaven, from whence we look for a Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ: who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body.' Therefore it is not changed into another nature, but remaineth indeed a true and very body, replenished with divine glory, and casting forth beams of light. But if it be changed into another nature, their bodies also shall likewise be changed; for they shall be fashioned like unto him. But if the bodies of saints keep the substance of their nature, the body of the Lord likewise hath his substance unchangeable[2]." Thus far Theodoret. Phil. iii.

Furthermore, when we profess that Christ hath true and very flesh, we do not mean flesh without soul. For we must confess, that Christ hath a reasonable or human soul, not Christ hath a reasonable soul.

εἰπεῖν· Εἰ γὰρ ἐγνώκαμεν κατὰ σάρκα Χριστὸν, ἀλλὰ νῦν οὐκέτι γινώσκομεν. Θεοῦ γὰρ, ὡς ἔφην, ἴδιον σῶμα ὑπάρχον ὑπερέβη πάντα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα. Μεταβολὴν δὲ τὴν εἰς τὴν τῆς θεότητος φύσιν οὐκ ἐνδέχεται παθεῖν σῶμα τὸ ἀπὸ γῆς· ἀμήχανον γάρ· ἐπεὶ καταγορεύομεν τῆς θεότητος, ὡς γενητῆς, καὶ ὡς προσλαβούσης τι ἐν ἑαυτῇ, ὃ μή ἐστι κατὰ φύσιν ἴδιον αὐτῆς. Ἴσον γάρ ἐστιν εἰς ἀτοπίας λόγον τὸ εἰπεῖν, ὅτι μετεβλήθη τὸ σῶμα εἰς θεότητος φύσιν, καὶ μὴν κἀκεῖνο, ὅτι μετεβλήθη ὁ λόγος εἰς φύσιν σαρκὸς, τῷ λέγειν μετακεχωρηκέναι τὴν θεότητα εἰς φύσιν σαρκός. Ὥσπερ δὲ τοῦτο ἀμήχανον, ἄτρεπτος γὰρ καὶ ἀναλλοίωτός ἐστιν, οὕτω καὶ τὸ ἕτερον· οὐ γάρ ἐστι τῶν ἐφικτῶν εἰς θεότητος οὐσίαν ἤτοι φύσιν μεταχωρῆσαί τι δυνάσθαι τῶν κτισμάτων· κτίσμα δὲ καὶ ἡ σάρξ. οὐκοῦν θεῖον μὲν εἶναι φαμὲν τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐπειδὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ σῶμά ἐστι, καὶ ἀῤῥήτῳ δόξῃ κατηγλαϊσμένον, ἄφθαρτον, ἅγιον, ζωοποιόν· ὅτι δὲ εἰς θεότητος φύσιν μετεβλήθη, οὔτε τὶς τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ἢ πεφρόνηκεν ἢ εἴρηκεν, οὔτε ἡμεῖς οὕτω διακείμεθα.—Cyrill. Epist. I. ad Successum. Opp. Tom. V. Part. II. pp. 139, 140. Lutet. 1638.]

[2 Δείξω δὲ ὅμως, καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάληψιν σῶμα καλούμενον τοῦ Δεσπότου τὸ σῶμα. Ἄκουσον τοίνυν τοῦ ἀποστόλου διδάσκοντος· Ἡμῶν γὰρ τὸ πολίτευμα ἐν οὐρανοῖς ὑπάρχει, ἐξ οὗ καὶ σωτῆρα ἀπεκδεχόμεθα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν· ὃς μετασχηματίσει τὸ σῶμα τῆς ταπεινώσεως ἡμῶν, εἰς τὸ γενέσθαι αὐτὸ σύμμορφον τοῦ σώματος τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ. Οὐ τοίνυν εἰς ἑτέραν μεταβέβληται φύσιν, ἀλλὰ μεμένηκε σῶμα, θείας μέντοι δόξης πεπληρωμένον, καὶ φωτὸς πέμπον ἀκτῖνας . . . Εἰ δὲ εἰς ἑτέραν ἐκεῖνο μετεβλήθη φύσιν, καὶ τὰ τούτων (ἰ. ε. τῶν ἁγίων) ὡσαύτως μεταβληθήσεται· σύμμορφα γὰρ ἐκείνῳ γενήσεται· εἰ δὲ τὰ τῶν ἁγίων φυλάττει τὴν χαρακτῆρα τῆς φύσεως, καὶ τὸ δεσποτικὸν ἄρα ὡσαύτως τὴν οἰκείαν οὐσίαν ἀμετάβλητον ἔχει.—Theodoret. Dial. II. pp. 83, 84. Opp. Tom. IV. Lutet. 1642.]

void of a mind. Arius taught that the Son of God took flesh only without soul[1], and that the Word was in place of the soul. And Apollinarius did attribute unto Christ a soul, but he took away the mind, denying that it was reasonable[2]. The scripture doth both attribute unto Christ a soul, and taketh not away the mind from the soul. The Lord himself sayeth in the gospel: "The Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his soul a redemption for many." The same Matthew hath left written of him: "He began to be sorrowful and heavy. And Jesus said, My soul is heavy, even unto the death." And in another place the Lord himself saith: "Now my soul is troubled." And if so be that this soul of Christ lack the mind, which is the chiefest part of the soul, how hath he a soul? how could he be sorrowful, and understand, desire, and remember? "With hearty desire (saith the Lord) have I desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer." But this desire came not from his Godhead, neither from his flesh only, nor from his soul wanting a mind, but from his perfect manhood of body and mind. Moreover we read in the gospel that the Lord said: "The Son of Man came not to destroy men's souls, but to save them." Therefore he took not flesh only, but a reasonable soul also. For man had perished both soul and body: therefore that he might be saved both body and soul, our Saviour Christ took a very man's body and a reasonable soul, that is to say, a most perfect man. Therefore blessed Athanasius, teaching us according to the scriptures the confession of true faith, said: "Christ is God of the substance of his Father, begotten before all worlds; and man of the substance of his mother, born in the world: perfect God, and perfect man, of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting."

Matt. xx.

Matt. xxvi.

John xii.

Luke xxii.

Luke ix.

The heretical error and the sound truth touching the mystery of Christ's incarnation.

Thus far in these words have we shewed that Jesus Christ our Lord is very God and very man; consubstantial or of the same substance with the Father according to his Godhead, and consubstantial or of the same substance with us according to his manhood. For he hath a reasonable soul and human flesh in very deed. We will speak furthermore of the conjunction or uniting of these natures into one person; in which matter histories declare, that certain ancient writers in old

[1 without a soul, ed. 1577.]

[2 Augustin. de Hæres. cap. 55.]

time foully erred. For Eutyches admitted one nature only in Christ, and the same made, that is, meddled or confounded together of a divine and human nature: from whom the Monothelites were not far beyond, acknowledging only one will in Christ. Nestorius, willing to avoid a coal-pit, fell into a lime-kiln[3]. For he, confessing two natures, seemeth to affirm that there are so many persons, teaching that the Word is not united to the flesh into the selfsame person, but that it only dwelleth therein: whereupon also he forbad the holy virgin to be called God's mother. Against whom the common assertion of the whole church, holding opinion according to the scripture, hath taught that two natures in Christ and the properties of those natures are to be confessed; which are so coupled together into one undivided person, that neither the divine nature is changed into the human, nor the human into the divine, but either of them retain or keep their own nature, and both of them subsist in the unity of person. For Christ[4] according to the disposition of his divine nature is one and the selfsame, immortal: according to the disposition of his human nature, mortal: and the selfsame immortal God and mortal man is the only Saviour of the world. Of which thing we will speak anon, by God's grace, somewhat more largely and plainly.

A proverbial kind of speech, whereby is meant, that in avoiding a less error he fell into a greater.

Touching the very conjunction or uniting of the true Godhead and manhood in Christ, the prophets and apostles have not crabbedly[5] nor craftily disputed. For they speaking simply said, "God was made man;" or, God took on him man. For John the apostle and evangelist saith: "The Word was made flesh," that is, God was made man, or the Word of God became flesh. St Paul saith: "God was made manifest in the flesh." And again: "The Son of God in no sort took the angels, but he took the seed of Abraham." Therefore we, according to the doctrine of the apostles, expounding the mystery of the conjunction of the divine and human nature in Christ, say: God was incarnate or made man; God took on him man; God appeared or was made manifest in human flesh. He that will sift out deeper matters than these, it is to cast himself into great dangers.

Of the uniting of Christ his Godhead and manhood.

John i.

1 Tim. iii.

Heb. ii.

[3 illam carbonariam, Lat. See Vol. I. p. 376. n. 1.]

[4 Rather, For one and the same Christ is according to, &c.]

[5 spinose, Lat.]

Some there are who, in expounding these points more fully, use the words of society or fellowship, participation, and communion, or part-taking; and that, not without authority
Heb. ii. of the scriptures; Paul saying, "Forasmuch then as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, he also himself likewise took part with them."

Christ retaineth both natures unmeddled, or unconfounded together.

Nevertheless we must here first of all take heed, that we do not meddle or confound the two natures joined together in one person, nor that we rob them of their properties. For God of his own nature is everlasting and unchangeable. God therefore, remaining always one and the selfsame, is not changed into an human or into any other nature, but joineth, coupleth, taketh, yea, and uniteth unto himself the human nature. Again, unless in his human nature he remain a creature, and be the selfsame which he is said to be, it is not an human nature: this therefore remaining in its own substance is taken to the divine nature. Therefore two natures remain in the one person of Christ, the divine and the human; and either of them doth retain their own disposition and their own property: which we will now declare by some places of scripture.

Isai. vii. Esay in his seventh chapter saith: "A virgin shall conceive, and bring forth a Son; and his name shall be called Immanuel." He acknowledgeth both natures in Christ: for according to his divine nature he is called "Immanuel," that is to say, "God with us;" according to his human nature
Isai. ix. he is conceived and born. The same prophet saith: "A child is born unto us, and a son is given unto us," &c. For he is given who is from everlasting; and he is born whose beginning and being is in the world[1]. Wherefore one and the selfsame retaineth both the divine and the human nature.
Mic. v. For Micheas also saith: "And thou, Beth-lehem Ephrata, art little indeed among the thousands of Judah. Out of thee shall he come forth unto me, which shall be the governor in Israel, whose outgoings have been from the beginning, and from everlasting." Lo, what could be spoken more plain? One and the selfsame hath two offsprings: for insomuch as he is God, his generation is from everlasting; and as he is man, he is born in Beth-lehem. Wherefore one and the selfsame Christ is very God and very man. Again in the gospel

[1 qui in seculo esse incipit, Lat.]

according to St Matthew, the Lord asketh the Pharisees, saying: "What think you of Christ? whose Son is he? Matt. xxii. They said unto him, The Son of David. He saith unto them, How then doth David in spirit call him Lord, saying, The Psal. cx. Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand until I make thine enemies thy footstool? If David call him Lord, how is he then his Son?" As if he said: Since Christ without doubt is the Son of David, and he calleth him Lord (not by human affection, but by the Holy Ghost), that is to say, very God of the selfsame power with the Father, the sequel[2] is that Christ is very man and very God. The angel Gabriel, noting no less plainly both these natures, saith to the virgin Mary: "That holy thing which shall be born shall be called Luke i. the Son of God." For of the virgin he is born, very man of very man: and this is the Son of God. For Elisabeth also calleth the virgin the mother of the Lord; to wit, of God. Moreover, in the gospel of John thou mayest read very many sayings of this sort, which point out, as it were with the finger, both natures in the selfsame Christ. "Ye John xiv. believe," saith the Lord, "in God, believe also in me." And again, "The Father is greater than I." Also, "I went out [John xvi. 28.] from the Father, and came into the world: again I leave the world, and go to the Father." And again in another place: "The poor shall ye have always with you, but me Mark xiv. always ye shall not have." And again: "Behold, I am Matt. xxviii. always with you, even unto the end of the world." Which sentences truly, as it were contrary, cannot be all true at once, unless we acknowledge that Christ retaineth the properties of (both) natures unconfounded or unmingled. Paul unto the Romans manifestly saith, that "he was called to Rom. i. be an apostle to preach the gospel of God, which he had promised afore by his prophets in the holy scriptures, concerning his Son; which was made of the seed of David according to the flesh; and declared mightily to be the Son of God, touching the Spirit of sanctification, by the resurrection from the dead." The apostle therefore acknowledgeth both natures in Christ: for according to the flesh (saith he) Christ is the Son of David; but if we behold the power of his miracles, his resurrection from the dead which giveth life, and that Christ sendeth the Holy Ghost and

[2 consequens est, Lat.; it follows.]

sanctifieth all the faithful, it appeareth that he which is the Son of David after the flesh is also the Son of God according to his divine power. The same apostle, in the second chapter to the Philippians, doth no less plainly and evidently affirm both natures in Christ. But because that place hath been already oftentimes alleged, I pass over to the citing of other.

The natures in Christ are not mingled or confounded.

St Augustine, expounding not only the confession of his own faith, but of the whole church in all the world which flourished in his time, in his epistle to *Dardanus*, LVII. hath thus left written: "Doubt not that the man Christ Jesus is there now, from whence he shall come; and have in ready remembrance and faithfully hold the christian confession: because he rose from the dead, ascended into heaven, sitteth at the right hand of the Father, neither shall come from elsewhere than from thence, to judge the quick and the dead: and in such sort shall he come, that voice of the angel so witnessing, as he was seen to go into heaven; that is to say, in the selfsame shape and substance of flesh, to which indeed he gave immortality, (but) took not the nature away. According to this shape he is not to be thought everywhere present. For we must beware lest we so fortify the divinity of man, that we take clean away the truth of his body. For it doth not consequently follow, that that which is in God should be so[1] everywhere as God. For the scripture which cannot lie saith even of us, that 'in him we live, move, and have our being,' howbeit we are not everywhere as he is: but he is after another sort man in God, because he is also otherwise God in man, after a certain proper and singular manner. For one person is God and man, and both of them is one Jesus Christ; everywhere in that he is God, but in heaven in that he is man." And the same author saith a little after: "Take away space of places from bodies, and they shall be nowhere: and because they shall be nowhere, they shall be no bodies. Take the very bodies from the qualities of the bodies, and there shall be no place for them to be, and therefore it must needs be that they have no being." And in the end of the Epistle the same Augustine saith: "Doubt not that Christ our Lord, the only-begotten Son of God, co-equal with the Father, being also the Son

[1 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, should so be.]

of man, whom the Father exceedeth in greatness, both to be present everywhere as he is God, and also to be in the same temple of God as God dwelling there; and yet to be in some certain place of heaven according to the manner of his true body[2]." The selfsame thing the same author as yet expoundeth more at large in his fiftieth treatise upon John[3]; and *Contra Felicianum Arianum*, cap. 9, 10, and 11[4]; also in his treatise *De Agone Christi*, cap. 24 unto cap. 27[5]. To

[2 Noli itaque dubitare, ibi nunc esse hominem Christum Jesum unde venturus est, memoriterque recole et fideliter tene Christianam confessionem: quoniam resurrexit a mortuis, ascendit in cœlum, sedet ad dexteram Patris, nec aliunde quam inde venturus est ad vivos mortuosque judicandos; et sic venturus est, illa angelica voce testante, quemadmodum ire visus est in cœlum, id est, in eadem carnis forma atque substantia, cui profecto immortalitatem dedit, naturam non abstulit. Secundum hanc formam non est putandus ubique diffusus. Cavendum est enim ne ita divinitatem astruamus hominis, ut veritatem corporis auferamus. Non est autem consequens, ut quod in Deo est ita sit ubique ut Deus. Nam et de nobis verissima scriptura dicit, quod in illo vivimus, movemur, et sumus; nec tamen sicut ille ubique sumus: sed aliter homo ille in Deo, quoniam aliter et Deus ille in homine, proprio quodam et singulari modo. Una enim persona Deus et homo est, et utrumque est unus Christus Jesus: ubique, per id quod Deus est; in cœlo autem per id quod homo... Nam spatia locorum tolle corporibus, nusquam erunt; et quia nusquam erunt, nec erunt. Tolle ipsa corpora qualitatibus corporum, non erit ubi sint, et ideo necesse est ut non sint... Christum autem Dominum nostrum, unigenitum Dei Filium, æqualem Patri, eundemque hominis filium, quo major est Pater, et ubique totum præsentem esse non dubites tanquam Deum, et in eodem templo Dei esse tanquam inhabitantem Deum, et in loco aliquo cœli propter veri corporis modum.—Augustin. ad Dardan. Ep. LVII. Opp. Tom. II. fol. 53. col. 3. fol. 54. col. 2. fol. 56. col. 1. Par. 1531.]

[3 Secundum præsentiam majestatis semper habemus Christum; secundum præsentiam carnis, recte dictum est discipulis, Me autem non semper habebitis.—Id. Tom. IX. fol. 76. col. 3.]

[4 Fel. Scire cupio quo pacto ad filium transeat dignitas patris, et ad patrem non recurrat humilitas prolis? Aug. Non secundum naturam ista nunc dici, quotidianarum rerum exempla nos docent, &c.—Id. Tom. VI. fol. 160. col. 3.—This treatise is not genuine.]

[5 Nec eos audiamus qui negant tale corpus Domini resurrexisse, quale positum est in monumento, &c. c. 24. Nec eos audiamus qui negant ipsum corpus secum levasse in cœlum Dominum nostrum, &c. c. 25. Nec eos audiamus qui negant ad dextram Patris sedere Filium, &c. c. 26.—Id. Tom. III. fol. 164. col. 2. P.]

which we will also join the testimony of the holy martyr Vigilius, bishop of Trident. For he, disputing against Eutyches in the defence of both natures in Christ, saith: "If the nature of the Word and flesh be one, how is it that since the Word is everywhere, the flesh also is not found everywhere? For when the flesh was in earth, surely it was not in heaven; and because it is now in heaven, surely it is not in earth: and so far is it from being in the earth, that according to flesh we do look for Christ to come from heaven, whom according to the Word we believe to be with us on earth. Therefore, according to your opinion, either the Word is contained with his flesh in place, or else the flesh with the Word is in every place: whereas one nature receiveth not into itself anything contrary and unlike. But it is contrary and far unlike to be limited within a place, and to be everywhere: and because the Word is in every place, but his flesh is not in every place, it is evident that one and the selfsame Christ is of both natures; and that he is everywhere according to the nature of his Godhead, and is contained in place according to the nature of his manhood; that he is both created, and also without beginning; that he is subject to death, and also cannot die; one of which is agreeable to him by the nature of the Word, whereby he is God; the other by the nature of the flesh, whereby the selfsame God is man. Therefore one and the selfsame Son of God, being also made the Son of man, hath a beginning by the nature of the flesh, and hath no beginning by the nature of his divinity: by the nature of his flesh he is created, and by the nature of his divinity he is not created: by the nature of his flesh he is limited in place, and by the nature of his divinity he is not contained in place: by the nature of his flesh he is inferior also to angels, and according to his divinity he is equal to the Father: by the nature of his flesh he died, but by the nature of his divinity he died not. This is the catholic faith and christian confession, which the apostles delivered, the martyrs confirmed, and the faithful even unto this day do observe and keep[1]." Hitherto we have rehearsed

[1 Si Verbi et carnis una natura est, quomodo cum Verbum ubique sit, non ubique inveniatur et caro? Nam quando in terra fuit, non erat utique in cœlo: et nunc quia in cœlo est, non est utique in terra; et in tantum non est, ut secundum ipsum Christum spectemus ven-

the words of Vigilius, martyr and bishop, to this end, that the most notable agreement of the holy scripture, of the universal church, and of the most godly and learned fathers in this principle might be understood, wherein we confess that the properties of both natures in Christ remain unconfounded.

Christ in one person remaineth undivided.

Again, we must by all means take heed, lest through defending and retaining the properties of the two natures we divide and pull asunder the unity of the person; as though there were two Christs, whereof the one should be subject to suffering and mortal, the other not subject to suffering and immortal. For there is but one and the same Christ, who according to his Godhead is acknowledged immortal, and mortal according to his manhood. Nestorius denied that the blessed virgin Mary was the mother of God; for he said God was unchangeable, and therefore that he could not be born, and that he had no mother. Whereupon sprang a suspicion, that he should say the Lord was bare man, and that he should maintain the heretical opinion of Paulus Samosatenus and Photinus: which thing Socrates handleth at large, *Historiarum* Lib. vii. cap. 32[2]. But Nestorius was

turum de cœlo, quem secundum Verbum nobiscum esse credimus in terra. Igitur secundum vos aut Verbum cum carne sua loco continetur, aut caro cum Verbo ubique est, quando una natura contrarium quid et diversum non recipit in seipsa. Diversum est autem et longe dissimile circumscribi loco et ubique esse; et quia Verbum ubique est, caro autem ejus ubique non est, apparet unum eundemque Christum utriusque esse naturæ; et esse quidem ubique secundum naturam divinitatis suæ, et loco contineri secundum naturam humanitatis suæ; creatum esse, et initium non habere; morti subjacere, et mori non posse: quod unum illi est ex natura Verbi, qua Deus est; aliud ex natura carnis, qua idem Deus homo est. Igitur unus Dei Filius idemque hominis factus filius habet initium ex natura carnis suæ, et non habet initium ex natura divinitatis suæ; creatus est per naturam carnis suæ, et non est creatus per naturam divinitatis suæ; circumscribitur loco per naturam carnis suæ, et loco non capitur per naturam divinitatis suæ; minor est etiam angelis per naturam carnis suæ, et æqualis est Patri secundum naturam divinitatis suæ; mortuus est natura carnis suæ, et non est mortuus natura divinitatis suæ. Hæc est fides et confessio catholica, quam apostoli tradiderunt, martyres roboraverunt, et fideles nunc usque custodiunt.—Vigilii contra Eutychen. Lib. IV. fol. 73. Tigur. 1539.]

[2 Socratis Hist. Eccles. Lib. VII. cap. 32. De Anastasio presbytero, a quo Nestorius ad impietatem perductus est. ed. Cantab. pp. 380, 381.]

injurious to the scripture and to true faith. For Elisabeth, the wife of Zachary and the mother of St John Baptist, being full of the Holy Ghost, in express words saluteth the holy virgin Mary, and calleth her the mother of the Lord, that is, the mother of God. And albeit his heavenly nature be without generation and corruption, yet notwithstanding it is most certain that he whom Mary brought forth was God in very deed. For "that which is born of her," saith the angel, "is the Son of God:" therefore she brought forth God, and she worthily is called the mother of God. For if she bare not God, she brought forth bare man, neither hath the Son of God coupled man unseparably to himself. In like manner, since God of his own nature is immortal, truly he cannot die: but if any man for that cause should absolutely deny that God was crucified and offered, yea, and died for us, he should gain-
Cor. ii. say Paul saying, "Had they known it[1], they would not have crucified the Lord of glory." But who is ignorant that the God of glory, or glorious God, cannot be crucified? In the meanwhile, since he which according to the flesh suffered and was nailed on the cross was God, not bare man only, we rightly say that God suffered and was nailed on the cross for us; though he which suffered suffered according to that only
[1 Pet. iv. 1.] which could suffer. For Peter the apostle saith, "Christ hath suffered for us in the flesh." The first Toletan council following him decreed in these words: "If any shall say or believe that the Godhead may be born, let him be accursed. If any shall say or believe that the deity of Christ may be turned, changed, or subject to suffering, let him be accursed. If any shall say or believe that the nature of the Godhead and the manhood is one in Christ, let him be accursed[2]." And Damasus bishop of Rome saith: "If any shall say, that in suffering on the cross the Son of God and God suffered pain, and not the flesh with the soul which he put on in the form

[1 ipsum, Lat.; him.]

[2 Si quis dixerit vel crediderit Deitatem nascibilem esse: anathema sit. Si quis dixerit vel crediderit Deitatem Christi convertibilem fuisse, vel passibilem: anathema sit. Si quis dixerit vel crediderit Deitatis et carnis unam in Christo esse naturam: anathema sit.—Assertio Fidei Concil. Toletan. I. Magd. Centur. Cent. v. cap. 9. foll. 467, 468. Basil. 1624. The first of these three determinations is not found, and the second is given somewhat differently, in Concil. Labb. et Coss. Tom. II. col. 1228.]

of a servant, which he took on him as the scripture saith, let him be accursed[3]." Therefore, whereas Paul saith, that "God hath purchased to himself a church with his own blood," who is so mad to believe that the divine nature hath or ever had blood? In the meanwhile who is such a dorhead[4] that he understandeth not, that the flesh which God took hath blood? And since that God accounteth not that as another's, but his own, which he took unto himself; we most truly say, that God with his own blood redeemed the world. Whereupon Theodoretus also, bishop of Cyrus, *Dialog. Eran.* 3, a little before the end, saith: "If Christ be both God and man, as both the holy scripture teacheth, and as the most blessed fathers have always preached, then as man he suffered, but as God he was not subject to suffering. But when we say the body, or flesh, or humanity suffered, we do not separate the divine nature: for as it was united to his human nature, which was hungry and thirsty, and weary, yea, and slept also, yea, and was vexed with sorrow and heaviness for the passion which he should suffer, abiding indeed none of those, but suffering that to abide the affections and passions of nature; even so it was joined unto him when he was crucified, and permitted that his passion should be throughly ended, that by his passion he might suffer death, not feeling grief truly by his passion, but making his passion agreeable and convenient for himself as the passion of his temple or dwelling-place and of his flesh joined unto him; by the which also they that believe are called the members of Christ: he himself is called the head of those that believe[5]." Thus far he. Acts xx.

[3 Εἴ τις εἴπῃ, ὅτι ἐν τῷ πάθει τοῦ σταυροῦ τὴν ὀδύνην ὑπέμεινεν ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ θεότητι, καὶ οὐχὶ σαρκὶ καὶ ψυχῇ λογικῇ, ἥνπερ ἀνέλαβεν ἐν τῇ τοῦ δούλου μορφῇ, ὡς εἴρηκεν ἡ ἁγία γραφὴ, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.—Damasi Opp. Epist. ad Paulin. Thessalon. Episc. p. 116. Romæ, 1638.]

[4 tam stupidus, Lat.; dor, a drone. Johnson.]

[5 Εἰ ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ Θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος, ὡς καὶ ἡ θεία διδάσκει γραφὴ, καὶ οἱ πανεύφημοι πατέρες κηρύττοντες διετέλεσαν, ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἆρα πέπονθεν, ὡς δὲ Θεὸς διέμενεν ἀπαθής. . . . Ὅταν τὸ σῶμα, ἢ τὴν σάρκα, ἢ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα πεπονθέναι λέγωμεν, τὴν θείαν οὐ χωρίζομεν φύσιν· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἥνωτο πεινώσῃ καὶ διψώσῃ καὶ κοπιώσῃ, καὶ μέντοι καὶ καθευδούσῃ, καὶ ἀγωνιώσῃ τὸ πάθος, οὐδὲν μὲν τούτων ὑφισταμένη, συγχωροῦσα δὲ ταύτῃ δέχεσθαι τὰ τῆς φύσεως πάθη· οὕτω συνῆπτο καὶ σταυρουμένῃ, καὶ συνε-

Of communicating of properties.

This figure of speech is called of some ἀλλοίωσις, alteration or changing; of John[1] Damascenus ἀντίδοσις, mutual giving or an interchanging of properties. That is wont to be called a communicating of properties[2], to wit, when that property is given to one nature which is proper to another: as for example; "No man hath ascended up into heaven (saith the Lord) but he that came down from heaven, even the Son of man which is in heaven." Truly, his human nature was not then in heaven, when the Lord spake this, but in earth: yet notwithstanding, because flesh is taken into the fellowship of his Godhead, that which is proper to this is attributed to his manhood. And bishop Fulgentius, making mention of[3] this interpretation, in his second book to king Thrasimundus hath thus left written: "He said this, not that the human substance of Christ is present in every place; but because one and the selfsame Son of God and Son of man, very God of the Father as he is very man of man, though according to his true humanity he was then locally in earth, yet according to his divinity (which by no means can be contained in place) he did wholly fill heaven and earth[4]." Thus saith he. Wherefore the sentences, bearing witness of Christ in the writings of the evangelists and apostles, are diligently to be marked. For some are peculiarly referred to his divine nature, as are these: "I and the Father are one." "Before Abraham was, I am." "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and God was that Word." "He is before all things, the image of the invisible God, by whom all things are

John iii.

χώρει τελεσιουργηθῆναι τὸ πάθος, ἵνα λύσῃ τῷ πάθει τὸν θάνατον, ἀδύνην μὲν ἐκ τοῦ πάθους οὐ δεχομένη, τὸ δὲ πάθος οἰκειωσαμένη, ὡς ναοῦ γε ἰδίου, καὶ σαρκὸς ἡνωμένης, δι' ἣν καὶ μέλη Χριστοῦ χρηματίζουσιν οἱ πιστεύσαντες, καὶ τῶν πεπιστευκότων αὐτὸς ὠνόμασται κεφαλή.—Theodoret. Demonstrat. per Syllog. Opp. Tom. IV. p. 186. Lutet. Par. 1642—84.]

[1 Joan. Damascen. Orthodoxæ Fid. Lib. III. cap. 3. p. 174. Bas. 1575.]

[2 idiomatum communicatio, Lat.]

[3 agnoscens, Lat.; recognising.]

[4 —Non quia humana Christi substantia fuisset ubique diffusa, sed quoniam unus idemque Dei filius atque hominis filius, verus Deus ex Patre sicut homo verus ex homine, licet secundum veram humanitatem suam localiter tunc esset in terra, secundum divinitatem tamen, quæ loco nullatenus continetur, cœlum totus impleret et terram.—Fulgent. ad Trasimund. Lib. II. cap. 17. p. 50. Venet. 1742.]

made." And some are particularly referred to his human nature, or to the mystery of his embassage or ministration[5]: of which sort are these: "The Father is greater than I." "Thou madest him a little inferior to the angels." "My soul is heavy even to the death." Again, there are testimonies which have respect to both natures, but to neither of them severally do they sufficiently agree. Such are these: "My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed." "I have power to forgive sins, to raise to life whom I will, and to give righteousness and holiness. I am the shepherd, the door, the light, the way, the truth, and the life." "No man cometh to the Father but by me." For these do set forth and commend unto us the very substance of Christ, the person I mean of our true Saviour and Mediator, God and man. For no man forgiveth sins but God only. Again, they are not forgiven without death and shedding of blood, as the apostle witnesseth in the ninth chapter to the Hebrews. Again, there are testimonies, which cannot aptly be declared but by communicating of words[6]. Touching which I hope this is sufficient.

The person of Christ is not divided.

Again, he doth not divide the person of our Mediator, God and man, whosoever for the unity's sake of natures doth not so far extend his humanity as his divinity is[7] extended. For in the gospel after St Matthew, the Lord goeth not with his body into the house of the centurion; whereas yet notwithstanding there is no doubt that, his Godhead being present and not absent, the servant of the centurion was cured of this disease. And who will say that therefore the person is divided by St Matthew, for that he hath not extended the humanity of Christ even unto his divinity? The angels, speaking to the women concerning the body of Christ risen from the dead and now glorified, say: "He is not here, he is risen." But we are not ignorant that his divinity is in every place. And yet the angels divided not his inseparable person, in that they did not make equal in all respects the human body of Christ with his Godhead. The angels themselves[8] do not divide the person of Christ, when, his body being taken up from the mount Olivet into heaven, they standing on the earth testify that he shall come again after the same manner as they saw

Matt. viii.

Mark xvi.

[Acts i. 11.]

[5 sive ad missionem, dispensationisque mysterium, Lat.]

[6 idiomatum, Lat.] [7 ut sic dicam, Lat. omitted; so to say.]

[8 Illi ipsi angeli, Lat.]

him depart from them. But who dare deny that the Lord was then also present with them? Therefore our Lord after the manner of his very body is in heaven not in earth: but according to his infinite Godhead he is everywhere, in heaven and in earth. Man consisteth of soul and body; and these most contrary in natures between themselves make one person, not two; and whosoever attributeth and defendeth that which is proper to either of them, doth not divide the person. The body sleepeth, the soul sleepeth not: these properties of parts make not two persons. Hereunto seemeth to belong that which Theodoret hath left written in his third Dialogue, saying: "We do not divide the natural unity of the soul and the body, neither separate we the souls from their own proper bodies: but consider those things which properly belong to their natures. Therefore when the scripture saith, 'And devout men carried Stephen to his burial, and made great lamentation over him;' wilt thou say that his soul was buried with his body? I think not. And when thou shalt hear Jacob the patriarch saying, 'Bury ye me with my fathers,' thou dost understand that to be spoken of his body, not of his soul. Again thou dost read, 'There they buried Abraham and Sara his wife,' &c. In which speech the scripture doth not make mention of the body, but in all points signifieth the soul and body together. But we rightly divide and say, that the souls are immortal, and that the bodies only of the patriarchs are buried in the double cave. Even so we also are wont to say, In this or that place this or that man was buried. We do not say, this man's body, or that man's body, but this man or that man; for whosoever is well in his wits knoweth we speak of the body. So whereas the evangelists so oftentimes make mention of Christ's body buried, at the length they set down the name of the person and say, that Jesus was buried and laid in the grave[1]," &c. Thus far Theodoret.

Acts viii.

[1 Ὀρθ. Οὐδὲ ἡμεῖς, ὦ ἀγαθὲ, διαιροῦμεν τὴν ἕνωσιν, ἀλλὰ θεωροῦμεν τὰ τῶν φύσεων ἴδια. ... Ὅταν οὖν ἡ θεία λέγῃ γραφὴ, Συνεκόμισαν δὲ τὸν Στέφανον ἄνδρες εὐλαβεῖς, καὶ ἐποίησαν κοπετὸν μέγαν ἐπ' αὐτῷ, καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν εἴποι ἄν τις μετὰ τοῦ σώματος παραδεδόσθαι ταφῇ; Ἐραν. Οὐ δῆτα. Ὀρθ. Καὶ ὅταν ἀκούσῃς Ἰακὼβ τοῦ πατριάρχου λέγοντος, Θάψατέ με μετὰ τῶν πατέρων μου, περὶ σώματος ἢ περὶ ψυχῆς ταῦτα εἰρῆσθαι τοπάζεις; Ἐραν. Δῆλον ὡς περὶ σώματος. Ὀρθ. Ἀνάγνωθι δὲ καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς. Ἐραν. Ἐκεῖ ἔθαψαν Ἀβραὰμ, καὶ Σάῤῥαν τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ. ... Ὀρθ. Οὐδ' ἐν τούτοις ...

And since it is without controversy, that this faith and doctrine from Christ's time even unto our age hath flourished in the holy church of God, and against innumerable assaults of Satan and heretics hath remained most stedfast; and the selfsame is delivered and confirmed by testimonies of scripture and consents[2] of holy councils; I exhort you, dearly beloved, that, calling on the name of Christ, you may persevere and continue in the same doctrine, and being joined by true faith and obedience to Christ, very God and man, you may give continual thanks, worshipping him that reigneth for ever.

OF CHRIST, KING AND PRIEST; OF HIS ONLY AND EVERLASTING KINGDOM AND PRIESTHOOD; AND OF THE NAME OF A CHRISTIAN.

THE SEVENTH SERMON.

I HAVE declared unto you, dearly beloved, that Christ Jesus our Lord is very God and man: which will bring more plentiful profit, if we understand what the fruit of that thing is; which is chiefly known by the offices of Christ our Lord. He is king and priest of the people of God; therefore he hath a kingdom and a priesthood: which things if we shall somewhat more diligently consider, they shall declare unto us the exceeding great benefit of the divinity and humanity of Christ.

Christ is king of all.

Christ Jesus is a king; therefore he is Lord of all, ruler and governor of all things which are in heaven and in earth, and specially of the catholic church itself, which is the communion of saints. And forsomuch as he is King and Lord, truly by his royal or kingly office he is the deliverer or preserver, the revenger and defender, and, finally, the lawgiver of his elect. For he crushed the serpent's head, the

Gen. iii. Luke xi.

σώματος ἐμνημόνευσεν ἡ θεία γραφή· ἀλλὰ διὰ τῶν ὀνομάτων τὴν ψυχὴν ὅμου καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἐδήλου. Ἡμεῖς μέντοι διαιροῦμεν ὀρθῶς, καὶ φαμὲν τὰς ψυχὰς ἀθανάτους εἶναι, μόνα δὲ τῶν πατριαρχῶν τὰ σώματα ἐν τῷ διπλῷ κατατεθῆναι σπηλαίῳ.—Theodoret. Dial. III. Opp. Tom. IV. pp. 129, 130. Lutet. Par. 1642.]

[2 symbolis, Lat.]

strong and most cruel enemy of God's people; whom when he had conquered he bound and spoiled. He delivered the elect out of the power of darkness, and set them into the
1 Pet. ii. liberty of the sons of God; that we might be his peculiar people, sanctified through the blood of our king, a purchased people, to serve him in righteousness and holiness. He is humble, loving, and gentle; which the history of the gospel also out of Zachary rehearseth of him, Matth. xxi. He watcheth for us, he defendeth and guardeth us, he enricheth us with all manner of good things, and furnisheth us against our enemies with spiritual armour, and giveth us abundantly power to resist and to overcome. He hath purged the temple of God, casting out the Canaanites[1]; he hath cancelled unrighteous laws, he hath delivered us from them; and now he ruleth and governeth us with the sceptre of his mouth, exceeding good and most just laws being proclaimed. For he is God and man; therefore he is the only monarch, the
Christ is a monarch. King of kings, and the Lord of lords: for he hath all the kings and rulers in the world subject unto him; some verily of their own accord, through faith, being obedient; and other, though striving and rebelling against him, made subject by
Psal. ii. his power. And therefore saith the prophet David: "Be wise, O ye kings, be learned, ye that are judges of the earth; serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice unto him with reverence. Kiss the Son, lest he be angry, and so ye perish from the right way[2]." For in another place the same prophet saith:
Psal. cx. "The Lord said to my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool. The Lord will send forth the rod of his power out of Sion; be thou ruler even in the midst among thine enemies." Esay also, bringing
Isai. xlix. in the Lord speaking, saith: "I will lift up my hands unto the Gentiles, and set up my standard to the people[3]; and they shall bring thee their sons upon their shoulders: for kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and queens shall be thy nursing mothers." Which thing ecclesiastical histories declare more largely. Of this king Christ the prophets prophesying
Isai. xvi. said: "And in mercy shall the seat be prepared; and he

[1 Cf. Vol. II. p. 45, n. 7, and p. 153, n. 8; and see Bullinger. in Apocalyps. Conc. XXI. p. 58, and Conc. XXVIII. p. 76, and Conc. LXXVIII. p. 245. Basil, 1557.]

[2 in via, Lat.] [3 inter populos, Lat.]

shall sit upon it in truth in the tabernacle of David, judging and seeking judgment, and making haste unto righteousness." And again: "Behold, the time cometh, saith the Lord, that I will raise up the righteous Branch of David, which king shall bear rule; and he shall prosper with wisdom, and shall set up equity and righteousness again in the earth. In this time[4] shall Juda be saved, and Israel shall dwell without fear: and this is the name that they shall call him, The Lord our Righteousness." Jer. xxiii.

Of the kingdom of God.

And because our Lord is a king, therefore he must needs have a kingdom. As well the realm and dominion subject to a king is called a kingdom, as principality, empire, power, and manner of government itself. Therefore the church, the communion or fellowship of saints, being obedient and subject to their king Christ, is called the kingdom of God. For Micheas saith, "And the Lord shall reign over them in mount Sion:" therefore Sion (which signifieth the church) is the kingdom of God. And God is said to reign, when in the church he ruleth, governeth, keepeth, and defendeth those that be his, and endueth and maketh them fruitful with divers graces. For Paul saith, "The kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost." Moreover the kingdom of God is that eternal glory and felicity which God doth communicate to his elect. For the Lord saith in the gospel, "Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom which is prepared for you from the beginning of the world." And the thief even at point of death making his prayer to the Lord, who was ready to die on the cross, and desiring to be partaker of this kingdom, saith, "Lord, remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom." Again, since the gospel teacheth us how God reigneth in us in this world, in time to translate us unto himself into that other; that is, since the gospel is that thing by which the Lord reareth up his dominion; it is not unadvisedly called of Matthew, in his thirteenth chapter, the kingdom of God[5]. In another place, for the same cause it is called "the word of the kingdom." To be short, we at this present by the kingdom of God understand the congregation

Mic. iv.

Matt. xxv.

Luke xxiii.

[4 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, in *his* time.]

[5 Our Lord's phrase in Matthew is, The kingdom of *heaven*: in the other Evangelists, of *God*.]

of saints itself, the catholic church, I mean, and the power or administration of God reigning therein, that is, preserving, governing, and glorifying the same.

The kingdom of God, which is one, is two ways considered.

And this kingdom of God is verily but only one; for there is but one God only, one king Christ only, one church, and life everlasting. But this one kingdom of God according to the dispensation of the same is considered two ways: first, according to the omnipotency of God; for he, since he is the highest and omnipotent, hath and executeth over all creatures, visible and invisible, most just rule and equal power, nill they or will they be obedient: secondly, according to his Spirit, whereby he reigneth in his elect. And so the kingdom of God is again two ways considered: for either it is earthly, and is called the kingdom of grace; or else it is heavenly, and is called the kingdom of glory.

God's kingdom of grace in earth.

The earthly kingdom of grace is not therefore called earthly, as though it were carnal and earthly, like the kingdom of Babylon, Persia, Alexandria, or Rome; but because it is on earth. For a good part of the holy church of God is conversant on this earth, being partaker of flesh and blood while it liveth on the earth, though it live not an earthly life according to the flesh; for according to the Spirit, whereby it is ruled, it liveth a heavenly life. Not that the partakers of the kingdom of God sin not: for "the just man falleth and riseth seven times in a day." Whereupon it is also called the kingdom of grace: for as long as we live in this world, our king and Lord never denieth his grace and mercy to us that crave pardon. And the faithful do wholly hang upon the grace of their king: they embrace[1] continual repentance, and endeavour themselves to things of more perfectness; for they frame all that they do according to the laws of their king and prince. For he reigneth in his elect by the word of truth, and by the Holy Ghost. By the word of truth he teacheth what the saints should do, and what they should avoid: by his Holy Spirit he moveth their hearts, and giveth strength to fly evil and follow that is good. For truly our king reigneth not so much for himself as for us: for he maketh us also kings, that we, being delivered from the devil, damnation, sin, and the curse, may be lords over the devil, damnation, sin, and the curse,

Prov. xxiv. 2 Sam. vii.

How Christ reigneth on earth in his kingdom.

Rev. i.

[1 agunt, Lat.]

yea, and over all things; and joint-heirs with the Son of God himself.

The spiritual kingdom of God.

For these causes the kingdom of God is called a spiritual kingdom. For the partakers of the kingdom of God, endued with the Spirit of God, do bring forth the fruits of the Spirit, not the works of the flesh; and, to be short, are governed with the Spirit of God. Neither truly doth our Lord reign after the manner of the kings of this world, saying to Pilate, "My kingdom is not of this world." Which sentence some abuse, gathering that there is no outward government in the church of God: under which name they also take away the office of a magistrate; and speak so subtilly of the kingdom of God, that a man cannot tell where the kingdom of God is, or who be partakers of this kingdom. They understand not that the meaning must be gathered upon the occasion of that saying. The Jews, accusing the Lord before Pilate, laid to his charge that he ambitiously sought after a kingdom. The Lord, clearing himself of this crime, sheweth Pilate that his kingdom shall not be such a one which, after he had cast out Tiberius Cæsar, should be gotten and kept with arms, and be governed after the manner of this world. Declaring that, he addeth: "If my kingdom were John xviii. of this world, then would my servants surely fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews." Therefore he inferreth, "But now is my kingdom not from hence:" and therefore they fight not for me, to place me in the throne of the kingdom, Tiberius being cast out. And anon he saith: "For this cause was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth: and all that are of the truth hear my voice." As therefore Christ by truth (not by lying, deceits, and crafty practices, like the princes of this world) prepareth himself a kingdom; so by truth he doth both retain and govern his kingdom: and whosoever embrace truth are partakers of Christ's kingdom, whether they be princes or of the commonalty: all these obey the voice of their King, and serve their highest Prince.

Here nevertheless we expressly add, that kings can no otherwise serve their Lord and King than kings, that is, in doing those things which kings ought to do, namely, to execute judgment and justice. For albeit these be in the world, yet rule they not after the world, because they are now governed

by the Spirit of their King Christ, and direct all their doings to the prescript rules of God's word, and in all things yield themselves to be guided by the Spirit of God: and so far surely their kingdom is not of this world. Of these things I have elsewhere cited much out of St Augustine according to the scripture[1]. And our King Christ defendeth his church and his ministers sometime by the aid of princes; sometimes he preserveth and spreadeth abroad the same lying open to persecutions through infirmity and weakness: for it is pressed down, but not oppressed, or kept under still; Christ the mightiest prince always reigning and overcoming in those that be his.

The bounds of Christ's kingdom in earth.

Now the bounds of this earthly kingdom of Christ reach unto the uttermost parts of the earth; for all the kingdoms of the world and all nations pertain unto the kingdom of Christ. Hereunto belong all the testimonies of the prophets touching the calling of the Gentiles[2], whereof thou mayest find very many in Esay and Zachary, who excellently describe the kingdom of Christ in earth. Whereupon the Jews took occasion to feign I wot not how great and glorious things of the majesty and victories of the Messias, which nevertheless long since were abundantly fulfilled in Christ, but more spiritually than carnally. But they, while they dream of and look for carnal things, loathe spiritual, and lose both. But the faithful, through the bountifulness and liberality of Christ their King, most abundantly obtain those good things which the prophets promised, namely, plentiful peace both with God and men, and all kind of felicity; always to be blessed, always to be safe (though they fight continually) from all enemies, as well visible as also invisible, and to enjoy everlasting salvation. Which things the prophets in their writings have set forth in a most large kind of style, yet understanding nothing else than as even now we said; that the faithful shall be most happy, and shall possess in Christ all good gifts both of soul and body, as much indeed as is necessary and healthful for the saints. And this is that kingdom (now we understand both, as well that of grace as this of glory) which that Joseph of Aramathia, just Simeon, and Anna the prophetess, with other saints, awaited and looked for. This same kingdom Philip the deacon preached to them of Samaria, and St Paul

[1 Vol. I. pp. 365-369.] [2 omnium gentium, Lat.]

the apostle to them of Rome: which thing Luke doth testify in the Acts of the Apostles, chapter viii. and xxviii.

But the seat or throne and[3] palace of our king is heaven. For he ascended a conqueror into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father almighty: from thence as the sun of righteousness he shineth to all which live in his church, or in his kingdom; yea, and he chooseth the hearts of the faithful to himself wherein he may dwell[4]. Furthermore, that we may understand our king, though not corporally present in earth but ascended into heaven, not therefore to be absent from his kingdom; he verily in his word compareth himself to the head and us to the body or the members. Now therefore as the body is never without the head, so the kingdom of God is not without Christ the prince. And as the vital spirit from the heart, and the power or virtue of feeling and moving from the head, is poured into the body: so are we quickened or made alive by our prince Christ; he justifying, preserving, comforting, confirming, and defending us from all evil. As all the members are ruled by the head, so all the faithful in the kingdom of Christ are governed by their king Christ. Paul therefore saith: "God raised Christ from the dead, and set him on his right hand in heavenly places, far above all rule, and power, and might[5], and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in the world to come; and hath put all things under his feet, and gave him to be the head over all things to the church, which is his body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all." Of which kind there are very many other to be found in the writings of the apostles: first of all[6] that "Christ is the head of the church, and he it is which giveth salvation to the body; for he gave himself for the church, to sanctify it when he had cleansed it in the fountain of water in the word, that he might present it unto himself a glorious church," &c.

The seat of our king, Christ.

Ephes. i.

Ephes. v.

And thus much hitherto of the kingdom of Christ in

[3 adeoque, Lat.; and so.]

[4 Alioqui nullam in terris sedem vel palatium regni habet, Lat. omitted; Otherwise, he has no seat or palace of his kingdom upon earth.]

[5 et dominium, Lat. omitted; and dominion.]

[6 in primis, Lat.; especially.]

earth, which is both called the kingdom of grace and the church militant.

God's kingdom of glory in heaven.

Moreover the kingdom of God is called the kingdom of heaven and of glory for that occasion, because those whom our Lord and king hath sanctified on earth, and guided with his Spirit, yea, and also justified, being delivered from the flesh and taken out of this world he glorifieth in heaven, and receiveth them into joy and into the fellowship both of himself and of all the saints. For the souls of the faithful, even as soon as they depart out of their bodies, are forthwith received into heaven, to reign with Christ the everlasting King, and for ever to rejoice with all the saints. But in the last judgment, wherewith we believe that the quick and dead shall be judged of Christ our king, the bodies of the saints shall be raised up, clarified[1], coupled again to their souls; and how many soever have cleaved unto Christ their king from the beginning of the world shall live for ever and reign in glory together with Christ their king and prince. Of this kingdom of the saints the prophets and apostles have spoken much, and chiefly the apostle St John in his Revelation. Some have called this kingdom the church triumphant.

Rev. xxi. & xxii.

The kingdom of Christ is an everlasting kingdom.

This kingdom of God, or of Christ, is an everlasting kingdom: for as even to the world's end the church shall be on earth, howsoever this world and the prince of the world do rage; so the faithful after judgment shall live and reign with Christ, happy for ever both in body and soul.

Matt. xvi. Matt. xxiv.

For the Lord saith in the gospel: "The gates of hell shall not prevail against the church." Also the last times shall be as the days of Noe were, wherein, though the wicked did far in number exceed the church of the faithful, yet Noe and his were saved in the ark, but the wicked were destroyed with the flood: in such sort surely shall iniquity by all means prevail in the end of the world; but in the meanwhile those that are elected into the kingdom of Christ shall be saved by Christ, whom they shall look for to be their judge, and shall see their Redeemer coming in the clouds of heaven.

Dan. vii.

Daniel also in his prophecy describeth the rising and falling of all kingdoms and of antichrist also, but attributeth no end to the kingdom of the saints or holy people, but wit-

[1] See Vol. I. pp. 172-176.]

nesseth that it shall be everlasting. The same doth the prophet Zachary also in his twelfth chapter. For the saints reign on the earth by Christ; and, being translated from the earth into heaven, they shall reign together with their king Christ for ever. And the scripture is wont oftentimes to speak of one of these kingdoms only. Of both these kingdoms we understand many places of scripture: first of all, that which is spoken by our Saviour: "When ye pray, say, Our Father, which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name, thy kingdom come." For we pray that he would reign in us while we live on earth, that we also may reign over the world and the prince of the world; and that we be not ruled by Satan, neither that sin reign in us; but rather that we, here being governed by himself, may in time to come reign with Christ in heaven. Matt. vi.

Contrariwise, what manner of kingdom the kingdom of the world is, it appeareth by considering the head or the king and prince thereof, which is the devil, the author of sin, of uncleanness, and of death. He reigneth in the world, the prince doubtless of the kingdom of darkness. Not that God and his Christ is not king of all things; but because unfaithful apostates, through their own proper malice, revolting from God to the devil, do appoint him for the prince[2]; to whom even of their own accord they submit and yield themselves to be governed, living in all ungodliness, wickedness, and uncleanness; framing themselves like to their head the devil; with whom they shall be punished everlastingly in the world to come, as in this world they have suffered themselves to be governed of him, doing his will. The kingdom of the world, what manner of one it is.

This "prince of this world," elsewhere also called "The god of this world," hath Christ the true king and monarch of the world overcome, and hath destroyed his kingdom: not that he should not be as long as this world endureth, but that he should not hurt the elect. Satan doth live and shall live for ever, howbeit in misery, (which life in very deed is death), but he hath no power against them that be redeemed by Christ the prince. He hath and shall have a kingdom even unto the end of the world, but in the children of unbelief. This kingdom also in this world is in decaying, and as John xii. 2 Cor. iv. 1 John iii.

[2 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, *their* prince. Sibi principem, Lat.]

it were momentany and for a short time; for the world passeth away, and all worldly things perish. But all the elect of God are very strangers from this kingdom; yea, they are as it were sworn enemies of this kingdom. Neither can the prince of darkness by his power put away the partakers of the kingdom of Christ into his kingdom of iniquity. Truly, he goeth about this diligently, and with divers temptations vexeth the elect: but those overcome through him which in time past vanquished that false king and prince of thieves, and taught us that, despising this filthy prince and the world and the lusts of the world, giving our minds to innocency, we should yield ourselves to that good Spirit to be governed.

These things have I thus far declared, as briefly as I could, touching the king Christ and his only and everlasting kingdom.

Christ Jesus the High Priest.

And now Christ our Lord is a priest, yea, that chiefest, only, and everlasting priest, whom the high priests of the old people did prefigure and shadow out. For David in his song

Psal. cx.

altogether divine saith: "The Lord sware, and will not repent him, Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek." Which words the blessed apostle alleging and expounding in his epistle to the Hebrews, hath left these words

Heb. vii.

written: "The forerunner (saith he) is for us entered into heaven, after the order of Melchizedek made a priest for

Gen. xiv.

ever. For this Melchizedek, king of Salem, priest of the most high God, who met Abraham coming from the slaughter of kings, and blessed him, to whom also Abraham gave the tenths of all things; who first indeed is called by interpretation the king of righteousness, then also king of Salem, which is, king of peace; of an unknown father, of an unknown mother, of an unknown kin, neither having beginning of days, nor end of life, but likened to the Son of God, remaineth a priest for ever[1]." Surely our Lord Jesus Christ is both a righteous and peaceable king, and the righteousness and peace of the faithful: and he is that everlasting priest, who according to his humanity is believed to be born of the virgin without seed of man, and therefore of an unknown father; and according to his divinity begotten of the Father, and therefore of an unknown mother; and unspeakably begotten from everlasting, and therefore of unknown kin, having neither beginning

[1 Erasmus' version.]

nor end of life. For albeit according to his humanity he was dead and buried, yet according to his divinity he remaineth God immortal and everlasting. The selfsame which is a king is also acknowledged a priest, not according to the order of Aaron, but according to the order of Melchizedek. For as the scripture remembereth this one a priest; so one Christ remaineth priest for ever, having an everlasting priesthood. But high priests in time past were called and anointed; they did not thrust themselves into such an office by force or deceit. Whereupon the apostle said: "No man taketh the honour to himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron. So also Christ took not glory to himself to be made high priest, but is made and confirmed of him who said unto him, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee. As he saith also in another place: Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek." But thou dost nowhere read that our priest was anointed with visible oil: for he was anointed with invisible oil, namely, with the fulness of the Holy Ghost; as the prophet witnesseth: "Thy God[2] hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows." And again: "The Spirit of the Lord upon me: for the Lord hath anointed me, and sent me to preach good tidings unto the poor."

Heb. v.

Psal. ii.

Christ is anointed.

Psal. xlv.

Isai. lxi.

Furthermore, when we read that the office of priests in times past was to serve in the tabernacle, to teach the people, to make intercession between God and men, to pray for the people and to bless them, to sacrifice also, and to consecrate or sanctify; and that now it is manifest that Jesus Christ is the lawful priest; it is certain that he is tied to the selfsame offices, but indeed to so much more excellent than these by how much he hath obtained a more excellent priesthood. Those priests after the order of Aaron served in the corruptible and figurative tabernacle: but our Lord, being taken up into the true tabernacle, heaven itself, ministereth to all the saints of God. For heaven and the church of saints is the true tabernacle and temple of our high priest. Christ our priest is the only and everlasting teacher and master of his universal church. For not only that age hath he so taught, which lived in the days of his flesh; but the Spirit of Christ was in the prophets, by whom now also he ruleth all the seats[3] of his catholic church. Christ himself as yet speaketh unto us, and

How Christ our priest doth the offices of a priest.

Christ the teacher of the church.

[2 Deus, Deus tuus, Lat.]

[3 cathedras, Lat.]

will speak even unto the end of the world, by the mouth or writings of the holy apostles and all teachers preaching the doctrine of the apostles. And this doctrine is sufficient for the catholic church; for it comprehendeth all those things fully which pertain to the holy[1] and happy life. Christ our high priest maketh intercession for all the saints in his own temple. For he, being the only advocate and patron of all the faithful, prayeth to the Father for us on the right hand of God; for he ascended unto the right hand of God the Father, that he should always appear there in the presence of God, to follow all our suits[2] faithfully: of which thing I have spoken more at large in my last sermon[3], where I entreated of invocation and intercession. The same our Lord only blesseth us. For he was made a malediction and curse for us, that we might be blessed in him, according to that notable and ancient prophecy: "In thy seed shall all the nations of the world be blessed." Moreover Christ our Lord sacrificeth for us: for he offereth incense when he maketh supplication for us, and appeareth on the right hand of God. And he offereth a sacrifice for sins unto the living God, not a sacrifice of a beast, but himself, always an effectual sacrifice, to make satisfaction for all the sins of the people. Whereof since I have entreated abundantly in the treatise of ceremonies[4], here of purpose I am the briefer. Again, since our Lord Jesus Christ is the holy of holiest, doubtless he sanctifieth and consecrateth his catholic church, anointing it with the oil of the Holy Ghost, that we may be made both holy and priests to offer spiritual sacrifices to God. For we read that that holy ointment, poured on Aaron's head, ran down to his beard, and even to the skirts of his clothing. For Christ, the high priest of his universal church, poureth his Spirit as well upon them that are very far off as upon them that are near at hand; for he crieth in the gospel: "If any man thirsteth, let him come unto me and drink. He that believeth on me, as the scripture hath said, out of his belly shall flow rivers of water of life." And again: "For their sakes sanctify I myself, that they also might be sanctified in the truth."

Christ maketh intercession.

Christ blesseth.

[Gen. xxii.]

Christ sacrificeth.

Christ sanctifieth.

John vii.

John xvii.

[1] So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, *a* holy.]
[2] negotia exequatur, Lat.]
[3] Sermon (not the last, but) v. pp. 212—219.]
[4] Vol. II. Decade III. Sermon v.]

To be short, when we say and confess that Jesus Christ is the priest or bishop[5] of the faithful people, we say this; that Christ is our chosen and appointed teacher and master, to govern and teach his universal church, to make intercession for us, and to plead all our suits[6] faithfully before the Father in heaven; which is the only patron, mediator, and advocate of the faithful with God; who by the sacrifice of his body is the perpetual and only satisfaction, absolution, and justification of all sinners throughout the whole world[7]; who consecrateth into priests those that believe, that they also might offer to God the Father through Jesus Christ acceptable sacrifices, and might be the house and tabernacle of God.

Of Christ's priesthood.

Out of this it shall be easy to judge what manner of priesthood Christ's is, who is our high priest and bishop. His priesthood is the very office or very function and working of the priest, whereby Christ the priest himself executeth all things in heaven and in the catholic church, which belong to his priestly office. Wherefore it must needs be, that this priesthood of Christ our high bishop is not visible and corporal, but altogether spiritual. For very well saith Paul, "Christ were no priest, if he were on the earth:" where they that are of the tribe of Levi do minister in the tabernacle or temple; where there is a temple or tabernacle with manifold holy garments and vessels. But Christ our Lord is of the tribe of Juda; born, I say, of a royal tribe: albeit we are not ignorant in the meanwhile, that the royal tribe, that is, the tribe of Juda, and the priestly tribe, that is, the tribe of Levi, were mingled together; for we read that Elizabeth, which was of the daughters of Aaron, was cousin to the Virgin, the mother of God, she being of the line of David. Neither is our Lord read at any time to have used the temple or the holy vessels in his ministery. For although sometime he taught in the temple, yet he taught not only in the same. He never sacrificed in the temple at the holy altars either of incense or of burnt-offerings. He never used priestly garments, which were figurative; whereof I spake when I expounded the ceremonial laws[8].

Heb. viii.

[Luke i. 36.]

[5 summum pontificem, Lat.] [6 negotia agat, Lat.]

[7 omnium peccatorum totius mundi, Lat.; of all the sins of the whole world.]

[8 Vol. II. Decade III. Serm. v.]

Heb. xiii. Therefore, when he would sacrifice for the satisfaction of the sins of the whole world, he suffered without the gate, and offered himself a lively and most holy sacrifice, according as the shadows or types, prophecies and figures foreshewed in the law of Moses: whereof in like manner I have entreated in the discourse of the ceremonial laws. And when he had offered the sacrifice of his body, he ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father, that from thence he may give light unto his church, and there appear always for us in the presence of God the Father. And therefore he doth not now corporally execute his priestly office on earth, in like sort teaching us now as in the days of his flesh he taught the men of his age. For now he doth illuminate with his Spirit the minds of his, and daily repaireth or reneweth the evangelical doctrine of the apostles; and yet, for all that, he himself speaketh by the mouth of them that teach and preach the gospel. He blesseth us from heaven, that is to say, he enricheth us with all heavenly blessings.

1 John ii. Of him the apostle speaking saith: "And the anointing, which ye have received of him, dwelleth in you: and ye need not that any man teach you; but as the same anointing teacheth you of all things, and it is true and not lying, and as it hath taught you, ye shall abide in it[1]." Of him the

Isai. xliv. divine prophet speaking saith: "I will pour water upon the thirsty, and floods upon the dry ground: I will pour my Spirit upon thy seed, and my blessing upon thy stock[2]," (or buds:) "they shall grow together like as the grass, and as the willows by the water's side." By which words we learn that Christ our high priest hath no need of a bishop, suffragan, or vicar in his church; for he himself is present with his church, and governeth it by his Spirit. The selfsame Christ, at the right hand of the Father in heaven, doth not so oftentimes humbly fall down on his knees and make

Heb. v. intercession for us as we do sin. "In the days of his flesh, when he did offer up prayers and supplications[3], with strong crying and tears, he was once heard in that which he feared[4]."

[1 manete in ea, Lat.; and Erasmus, and Bibl. Lat. Tigur. 1544. Marg. Auth. Ver.]

[2 So Coverdale, 1535; stirpem tuam, Lat. and Vulg.]

[3 pro nobis, Lat. omitted; for us.]

[4 exauditus est a Patre pro reverentia, Lat.; Erasmus' Version.]

For now he always appeareth for us in the presence of God. All our matters are manifest in his sight; and the Father beholdeth the face of his Christ, for whose sake he is pleased with all his members, hearing them and giving them whatsoever healthful things they require, according to that saying of our Saviour: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, Whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in my name, he shall give it you." John xvi. Therefore here we must imagine no turmoils, no molestation, no labour wherewith he should be wearied which is the intercessor, advocate, and priest of all before God the Father in heaven: whereof also I put you in mind in my last sermon, where I entreated of invocation and intercession[5]. Wherefore our priest, executing his office before God in heaven, hath need of no altar of incense, no censer, no holy vessels or garments: much less hath he need of the altar of burnt-offerings; for on the cross, which was his altar, he offered up himself but once for all. Neither was there any mortal man worthy to offer to the living God the living Son of God. And that only sacrifice is always effectual to make satisfaction for all the sins of all men in the whole world.

And though in the discourse of the ceremonial laws I have alleged many testimonies touching these things, yet I cannot stay myself here, but must cite unto you some that be notable. For this matter, wherein the fruit of Christ's divinity and humanity, to be short, all our salvation consisteth, cannot worthily and diligently enough be printed in men's hearts. Paul unto the Hebrews, speaking of the priests of the old Testament, and comparing Christ our high priest with them, yea, by all means preferring him, saith: "And among them many were made priests, because they were not suffered to endure by reason of death. But Christ, because he endureth for ever, hath an everlasting," or unchangeable[6], "priesthood, for that it doth not pass over to another by succession. Wherefore he is able also perfectly to save them that come unto God by him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them. For such an high priest it became us to have, (which is) holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sins[7], and made higher than the heavens: which needed not [Heb. vii. 23—27.]

[5 See above, p. 219.]
[6 immigrabile, Lat. See Vol. II. p. 195, n. 3.]
[7 a peccatoribus, Lat.]

daily, as those high priests, to offer up sacrifice, first for his own sins, and then for the people's; for that did he once,
Heb. ix. when he offered up himself." And again he saith: "Christ is not entered into the holy places made with hands, which are the similitudes of the true sanctuary, but into heaven itself, to appear now in the sight of God for us: not that he should offer himself often, as the high priests[1] entered into the holy places every year in strange" (or with other) "blood; for then must he have often suffered since the foundation of the world: but now in the end of the world hath he appeared once, to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself. And as it is appointed unto men that they shall once die, and after that cometh the judgment; even so Christ, once offered to take away the sins of many, the second time shall be seen without sin of them which wait for him unto
Heb. x. salvation." And again the same Paul saith: "Every priest appeareth daily ministering, and oftentimes offereth one manner of offering, which can never take away sins: but this man, after he had offered one sacrifice for sins, sitteth for ever at the right hand of God, and from henceforth tarrieth till his enemies be made his footstool. For with one offering hath he made perfect," or consecrated, "for ever them that are sanctified." All these sayings hitherto are the apostle Paul's. And I think that these testimonies are not to be made manifest and agreeable to our purpose by a larger interpretation; for they are all even without any exposition of ours most evident, and very aptly[2] agree to the matter which we have in hand. For they do plainly set forth and lay before our eyes to behold the whole priesthood of Christ, specially that which belongeth to the intercession and the only and everlasting sacrifice or satisfaction for sins. It belongeth also to the same priesthood to consecrate priests unto God all the faithful: not that we should offer for the satisfaction of sins, but that we should offer our prayers, thanksgivings, and ourselves, and the duties of godliness as it were every moment. For St John the apostle and evan-
Rev. i. gelist saith: "Jesus Christ, prince of the kings of the earth, loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood, and made us kings and priests unto God and his Father." We
1 Pet. ii. may find the same sentence also in the epistle of St Peter.

[1 pontifex, Lat.] [2 quam apertissime, Lat.]

So that in these[3] we may see what fruit riseth and floweth unto us from the divinity and humanity of Christ our king and high priest. For he could not be prince of kings and high priest, unless he were God and man.

Here this place requireth to speak somewhat of the name of a Christian, and of the duties of a christian man. Of the name of a Christian.

We have the name of Christians of Christ, to whom being unseparably knit we are the members of that body whereof he is head. And Christ is not his proper name (for he is called Jesus), but a name of office, derived from the Greek word χρίσμα, which signifieth anointing[4]; so Christ signifieth as much as *anointed*. Therefore Tertullian saith, it is not a proper name, but a name attributed. And he addeth, "Anointed is no more a name than clothed or apparelled, a thing accident to the name[5]." But the kings and high-priests were anointed with oil; therefore Christ signifieth unto us him that is king, high-priest, or bishop. And because we are named Christians of Christ, who hath anointed us with the Holy Ghost, truly we also are kings and priests. Where you may see how great a benefit we have received of Christ, God and Man; for he hath made us kings and priests. Christians are kings and priests.

We see what the duty of Christians is; namely, to maintain this dignity even to the last gasp, lest it be taken from us again by Satan. Furthermore if we be kings, we are lords over things, and are free, ruling, not ruled or in subjection: free, I say, from sin and everlasting death, and from all uncleanness; lords over Satan, prince of this world, and over the world itself. For we rule the world and the flesh: we are not ruled by them. Hereunto belong those words of the apostle: "Let not sin reign in your mortal body, that ye should thereunto obey by the lusts of it. Neither give ye your members as instruments (or weapons) of unrighteousness unto sin: but give yourselves unto God, as they that are alive from the dead, and your members as instruments (or weapons) of righteousness unto God. For sin shall not have power (or Christians are kings. Rom. vi.

[3 in omnibus his, Lat.; in all these.]

[4 a chrismate, Lat. Cf. Tertul. de Baptismo, cap. 7. Tom. IV. p. 164. ed. Semler. Hal. Magd. 1824.]

[5 Si tamen nomen est Christus, et non appellatio potius. Unctus enim significatur: unctus autem non magis nomen est, quam vestitus ... accidens nomini res.—Tertull. Adv. Prax. Op. Par. 1634, p. 660.]

dominion) over you." And therefore when the prince of this world, yea, and the world itself, and the flesh, and sin, the wicked affection thereof, do what they can to draw us again out of freedom into bondage, we must (because we are kings) valiantly resist them, and, continuing in conflict, vanquish and overcome them by the virtue of Christ reigning in us. For
1 John v. St John the apostle saith: "All that is born of God overcometh the world; and this is the victory which hath overcome the world, even your faith." Hitherto belongeth the doctrine of freedom and bondage, whereof I entreated in the former Decade[1]. By all these we gather, that the principal duty of Christians is always to stand in battle array, and to keep their place, to watch and endeavour by all force and means, lest at any time being overcome of their enemy Satan they be spoiled of their royal or kingly dignity, and be haled down into the bondage of hell. Truly, if we overcome in Christ and with Christ, we shall reign together with him; that is, we shall live with him and all the saints in glory for ever and ever. And thus are we kings in Christ; thus are we Christians.

Christians are priests. Again, because we are Christians, that is to say, anointed, surely we are priests also; and therefore, according to our priestly office, we teach, we admonish, we exhort, and comfort all our brethren, and all men that are committed to our charge. Where notwithstanding we do necessarily make a difference between the christian priesthood and the ecclesiastical ministery. All Christians truly, as well men as women, are priests, but we are not all ministers of the church: for we cannot all one with another preach publicly, administer the sacraments, and execute other duties of pastors, unless we be lawfully called and ordained thereunto. This our priesthood common to all is spiritual, and is occupied in common duties of godliness, not in public and lawful ministeries of the church. Whereupon one may and ought to instruct and admonish another privately, and while he so doth, he executeth a priestly office; as when the good-man of the house[2] instructeth his children at home in godliness; when the good-wife of the house teacheth and correcteth her daughters; to be short, when every one of us exhort every neighbour of ours to the desire and study of godliness. For the apostle

[1 Decade III. Serm. IX.] [2 Vol. I. page 258, note 2.]

Paul saith: "Exhort ye one another daily, while it is called to-day; lest any of you be hardened through the deceitfulness of sin." Heb. iii. Moreover, since we be priests, we must offer sacrifices worthy of our God. And we have sufficiently testified, that, after Christ our high and only priest or bishop in all ages and in all the whole world, none doth offer a satisfactory sacrifice to take away sin: for when he offered up himself, he offered a sacrifice but once, howbeit always effectual to cleanse the sins of all. Therefore we offer unto him thanksgiving and praise, celebrating the memory of that one only sacrifice: we offer prayers: we offer ourselves, that is to say, our bodies, a lively and a reasonable sacrifice to God, together with all kind of godliness and well-doing. For Paul saith: "By Christ we offer the sacrifice of praise always unto God, Heb. xiii. that is, the fruit of lips confessing his name. To do good and to distribute forget not; for with such sacrifice God is well pleased." But touching these sacrifices I have spoken more in my former sermon[3], wherein I entreated what the true service of God is. But since all sanctification is and riseth from one high priest, Christ Jesus, we can sanctify ourselves no otherwise than with honest and pure conversation of life, which thing is required at our hands; namely, that we be holy, and that we sanctify the name of our God with an innocent life, that it be not evil spoken of through us by men, but that they may see the good works of the faithful, and glorify the Father which is in heaven. There is none but may see that all the duties of a christian man are comprehended in these points; wherein unless we exercise ourselves earnestly, I do not see that we are worthy of so excellent a name.

The name of a Christian, most ancient. [Acts xi. 26.]

That this most holy name was first given to the faithful at Antioch in Syria, Luke is witness: which yet let no man so understand, as if that name afore had been altogether unknown to all men. For now it is become most common; in time past it was the name only of most excellent and holy men, and of such as rather were so indeed than so accounted, though also by name they were in some manner so acknowledged. For Eusebius in his ecclesiastical history maketh mention, that the ancient fathers Adam, Seth, Noe, Abraham, and other like unto these, were all Christians; and therefore christian religion to be the very purest, perfectest, and the

[3 See above, p. 224.]

ancientest. The words of Eusebius, if any require, are these: "The nation of the Hebrews is not new, but unto all men in antiquity famous, and known to all. Their books and writings do contain ancient fathers, of whom they make report before the flood, rare indeed and few in number, howbeit in godliness and righteousness and in all kind of virtues most excellent; and after the flood, of other of the sons and nephews of Noe, as of Tharam and Abraham, of whom as their captain and progenitor the posterity of the Hebrews do boast. So that if any man shall say that all these from Abraham himself even to the first man, being beautified with the testimony of righteousness, through their works, though not in name, were Christians, truly he should not stray from the truth. For a Christian signifieth a man which excelleth other in knowledge and doctrine of Christ, with moderation of mind, and righteousness and continency of life, and through fortitude of virtue and confession of godliness toward the one and only God of all creatures. And this name those ancient fathers did no less esteem than we do. Neither had they care of the corporal circumcision, as we also have not; neither of keeping the Sabbath-day, as we also have not; nor of abstaining from meats, nor other differences: which things afterwards Moses first of all ordained, and figuratively delivered them to be performed: as such things also even at this day pertain not to Christians. But they saw plainly the Christ or anointed of God: as also it is declared already before, that he both appeared unto Abraham, and gave answer unto Isaac and Israel, and spake to Moses, and after him to the prophets. Whereby thou shalt find that these godly men also obtained the name of Christ, according to that saying spoken of them, to wit, Touch not my Christs (or mine anointed), and do my prophets no harm. Therefore it is manifest that this godly invention of those men who lived holily in the time of Abraham, which of late by the doctrine of Christ is preached to all nations, is the first, most ancient, and eldest of all[1]." Thus much Eusebius.

[1 Οὐ νέον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀρχαιότητι τετιμημένον ἔθνος, τοῖς πᾶσι καὶ αὐτὸ γνώριμον, τὸ Ἑβραίων τυγχάνει. Λόγοι δὴ παρὰ τούτῳ καὶ γράμματα παλαίους ἄνδρας περιέχουσι, σπανίους μὲν καὶ ἀριθμῷ βραχεῖς, ἀλλ' ὅμως εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ πάσῃ τῇ λοιπῇ διενεγκόντας ἀρετῇ· πρὸ μέν γε τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ, διαφόρους· μετὰ δὲ καὶ τοῦτον, ἑτέρους τῶν

Furthermore, if we behold ourselves in this looking-glass of a christian name, we shall see that very few at this day are worthy of this name[2]. Truly all of us are commonly so called, and we will be[3] named Christians; but few of us live a life worthy of our profession. We are named Christians of holy anointing. The holy anointing is the Holy Ghost himself. "Upon whom shall my Spirit rest?" saith the Lord; Isai. lxvi. "even upon him that is poor, and of a lowly troubled spirit, and standeth in awe of my words." But we set light by the word of God, we have very troublesome heads, we are corrupt with evil affections and lewd lusts, we swell with pride; and therefore we want the ointment of holy oil, or are void of the Holy Ghost[4]. Who therefore can say that we be Christians? We are all of us in manner ruled by wicked desires, by the flesh, the world, and the prince of this world; few of us rule the world, and the flesh, and those things which are in them. Therefore not the Spirit of God, but the spirit of the world

There are but few Christians.

τε τοῦ Νῶε παίδων καὶ ἀπογόνων, ἀτὰρ καὶ (τὸν Θάραν, alii) τὸν Ἀβραὰμ, ὃν ἀρχηγὸν καὶ προπάτορα σφῶν αὐτῶν παῖδες Ἑβραίων αὐχοῦσι. Πάντας δὴ ἐκείνους δικαιοσύνῃ μεμαρτυρημένους, ἐξ αὐτοῦ Ἀβραὰμ ἐπὶ τὸν πρῶτον ἀνιοῦσιν ἄνθρωπον, ἔργῳ Χριστιανοὺς, εἰ καὶ μὴ ὀνόματι, προσειπών τις οὐκ ἂν ἐκτὸς βάλοι τῆς ἀληθείας. Ὁ γάρ τοι δηλοῦν ἐθέλοι τοὔνομα, τὸν Χριστιανὸν ἄνδρα διὰ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ γνώσεως καὶ διδασκαλίας, σωφροσύνῃ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ καρτερίᾳ τε βίου καὶ ἀρετῆς ἀνδρίᾳ, εὐσεβείας τε ὁμολογίᾳ ἑνὸς καὶ μόνου τοῦ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεοῦ διαπρέπειν, τοῦτο πᾶν ἐκείνοις οὐ χεῖρον ἡμῶν ἐσπουδάζετο. Οὔτ' οὖν σώματος αὐτοῖς περιτομῆς ἔμελεν, ὅτι μὴ δὲ ἡμῖν· οὐ σαββάτων ἐπιτηρήσεως, ὅτι μὴ δὲ ἡμῖν· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν τοιῶνδε τροφῶν παραφυλακῆς, οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων διαστολῆς, ὅσα τοῖς μετέπειτα πρῶτος ἁπάντων Μωϋσῆς ἀρξάμενος ἐν συμβόλοις τελεῖσθαι παραδέδωκεν, ὅτι μὴ δὲ νῦν Χριστιανῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα· ἀλλὰ καὶ σαφῶς αὐτὸν ᾔδεσαν τὸν Χριστὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, εἴγε ὤφθαι μὲν τῷ Ἀβραὰμ, χρηματίσαι δὲ τῷ Ἰσαὰκ, λελαληκέναι δὲ τῷ Ἰακὼβ, (Ἰσραὴλ, alii) Μωϋσεῖ τε καὶ τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα προφήταις ὡμιληκέναι προδέδεικται. Ἔνθεν αὐτοὺς δὴ τοὺς θεοφιλεῖς ἐκείνους εὕροις ἂν καὶ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ κατηξιωμένους προσωνυμίας, κατὰ τὴν φάσκουσαν περὶ αὐτῶν φωνήν· Μὴ ἅψησθε τῶν χριστῶν μου, καὶ ἐν τοῖς προφήταις μου μὴ πονηρεύησθε. Ὥστε σαφῶς πρώτην ἡγεῖσθαι δεῖν καὶ πάντων παλαιοτάτην τε καὶ ἀρχαιοτάτην θεοσεβείας εὕρεσιν, αὐτῶν ἐκείνων δὴ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀβραὰμ θεοφιλῶν ἀνδρῶν, τὴν ἀρτίως διὰ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδασκαλίας πᾶσιν ἔθνεσι κατηγγελμένην.—Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. i. cap. 4. Tom. i. pp. 31, 32. ed. Burton. Oxon. 1838.]

[2 sacro nomine, Lat.]

[3 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, we will be *all*; omnes volumus, Lat.]

[4 or—Ghost, the translator's addition.]

and the flesh beareth rule in us. The devil, the world, and the flesh have dominion over us; for in them we live, and them we do obey: whereupon, being estranged and let loose from all righteousness and holiness, we are become slaves, serving a most vile and filthy slavery. For we, not desiring to be delivered, do neither seek a redeemer; nor, being impatient of their tyranny, rise and rebel against them: but like faint-hearted cowards, we yield ourselves to be brought in subjection, and to be kept under their tyranny: nay, it repenteth and irketh us of our labours, watchings, prayers, and of all duties of godliness; and, being careless, we lie lurking as in a place of voluptuousness. But who would vouchsafe such swine the most holy name of a Christian, but he that is both exceeding foolish and wicked? No marvel then if such be thrust down into hell, there eternally to burn, and there eternally to be yoked unto him whom[1] they have most wickedly chosen to themselves to follow. And now what one of us is there that doth teach, admonish, and exhort those that boast and brag of this christian name? I speak nothing here concerning the doctors or teachers of the church; but my talk doth touch the office and duty of a christian man. Truly, the most part of us are slow in instructing our families and fellow-brethren: for either it grieveth us to take the pain, or else we fear danger. Therefore we turn the office of admonishing and instructing upon the public ministers of the church, as though nothing at all of this matter were required of us. For this cause speeches in a manner unseemly to be spoke are heard uttered of men: "I have not the office of a minister, I am no (*pfaff*) priest; why therefore should I instruct? why should I admonish?" And these care not how blasphemous and filthy things be spoken either at home or abroad; for they live to themselves, and think that the glory of God and the soul's health of their neighbour belongeth nothing unto them. But what sacrifices offer we worthy of God and our name? where are prayers and thanksgivings? where is the mortification of our flesh, and the denying of this world? where is compassion, or well-doing? where is an holy and harmless life? The contrary (if need so required) I could reckon up in a long bead-row: but to what end were it to make a large discourse of those things that are manifest unto all men? For who,

[1 hic, Lat. omitted; here.]

I pray you, doth deny, that the life of this present age (of men, I mean, which brag and boast of their christian name) is filthy, stinking, and pestilent? Which things since they be too too true and evident, I have nothing done amiss in saying a little before, that at this day there are few Christians. They that are wise and desire to be according to their name, let them hear our Saviour speaking in the gospel of Matthew: "Strive to enter in at the strait gate; for wide is the gate, and broad is the way, that leadeth to destruction, and many there be which go in thereat: because strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it." Matt. vii.

Furthermore they (which thing ought first of all to have been spoken) do very greatly offend against religion and christian profession, which as they do not sincerely acknowledge the priesthood and kingdom of Christ, so they boast themselves to be chiefly praise-worthy, commendable, and catholic, because they commit those things which by all means obscure and darken the kingdom and priesthood of Christ. Christians, being content with this only title and name, do not ambitiously seek after or admit another name: but these men, as though the name of a Christian were but a light and trifling name, never rest until they be also called by other names; as though they were baptized into the name of Brion[2], Benet[3], Robert[4], or Francis[5]. Christians, cleaving only to their law-giver, master, and teacher Christ, do not acknowledge the voice of strangers, neither go a straw's breadth from the divine scriptures: but these men charge thee with heresy, unless thou receive and worship for heavenly oracles all kind of constitutions of the Romish church, though they be flat contrary to the words and teaching of Christ. Christians acknowledge themselves to have one king, one deliverer, one Saviour, and one head in heaven: these men worship his vicar in earth, and attribute salvation not only to trifling Against false Christians.

[2 Brunonis, Lat.; Bruno, founder of the Order of Carthusians.]

[3 Benedicti, Lat.; Benedict of Nursia (or Norcia), in Italy, established the Benedictine order about A.D. 529.]

[4 Robert or Rodbert, born at Arbrissel, near Rennes in France, founded the order of Fontevraud, a new sect of Benedictines, A.D. 1100.]

[5 St Francis of Assisi, in Italy, established his order of Fratres Minores, or Minorites, about A.D. 1208.]

things, but to very stinking and loathsome things. Christians put all their trust in God, to whom they offer all their vows and prayers by Jesus Christ, whom they believe to be the only high priest and most faithful patron and advocate of all that believe: they[1] make their prayers to creatures and men's imaginations, and choose to themselves so many patrons and intercessors as there do live saints in heaven. Christians know that the sacrifice of Christ once offered is always effectual to make satisfaction for all the sins of all men in the whole world, and of all men of all ages: but these men with often outcries say, that it is flat heresy not to confess that Christ is daily offered of sacrificing priests, consecrated to that purpose. Therefore the name of a Christian is common to all, but the thing signified and meant by the name is common to the faithful only who cleave unto one Christ.

The conclusion.

Now I conclude my whole discourse of Christ, a king and a priest, with these words of St Augustine: "The Son of God, which made us, is made among us; and being our king ruleth us: and therefore we are Christians, because he is Christ. He is called Christ *a Chrismate*, that is to say, of anointing. Kings also and priests were anointed, and he was anointed king and priest. Being a king, he fought for us: being a priest, he offered himself for us. When he fought for us, he was as it were overcome, yet by right he hath overcome in very deed: for he was crucified, and on his cross whereon he was nailed he slew the devil, and then he was our king. But wherefore is he a priest? Because he hath offered himself for us. Let a priest have somewhat to offer. What could man find to give? A clean sacrifice? what sacrifice? what clean thing can a sinner offer? O wicked sinner! O ungodly wretch! whatsoever thou shalt bring, it is unclean. Seek within thyself what to offer, thou shalt find nothing. Seek out of thyself what to offer, he is not delighted in rams or goats or bullocks; they are all his, though thou offer them not. He found nothing clean among men, which he might offer for men; therefore he offered himself a clean offering, an undefiled sacrifice. Therefore he did not offer that which we gave unto him, but that which he took of us; and that he offered pure and clean. He took flesh in the womb of the virgin, that he might offer pure and clean flesh for us that were unclean. He

[1] Isti, Lat.; these.]

is a king, he is a priest. In him let us rejoice[2]." To him be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

OF THE HOLY GHOST, THE THIRD PERSON IN TRINITY TO BE WORSHIPPED, AND OF HIS DIVINE POWER.

THE EIGHTH SERMON.

It remaineth that, after we have expounded the mysteries of the Son of God our Lord Jesus Christ, we consequently[3] speak of the Holy Ghost and of his divine power and operation. For unless he inspire our minds and rule our tongue, we shall never be able worthily or profitably either to speak or hear anything concerning him. For as no man knoweth those things which are of God, but the Spirit of God; so men fetch the understanding of heavenly things and the knowledge of the Holy Ghost from nowhere else than from the same Spirit of God. Let us therefore pray and beseech God the Father, that by his Son[4] Jesus Christ he would vouchsafe to enlighten our dark and misty

[2 Filius Dei, qui fecit nos, factus est inter nos, et rex noster regit nos... et ideo Christiani (sumus) quia ille Christus. Christus a chrismate dictus est, id est, ab unctione. Reges autem ungebantur et sacerdotes; ille vero unctus est et rex et sacerdos. Rex pugnavit pro nobis; sacerdos obtulit se pro nobis. Quando pugnavit pro nobis, quasi victus est, jure autem vere vicit. Crucifixus est enim, et de cruce sua, in qua erat fixus, diabolum occidit, et deinde rex noster. Unde autem sacerdos? Quia se pro nobis obtulit. Date sacerdoti quod offerat. Quid inveniret homo quod daret? Mundam victimam? Quam victimam? Quid mundum potest offerre peccator? O inique, O impie, quicquid attuleris immundum est... Quære apud te quid offeras, non invenies: quære ex te quid offeras; non delectatur nec arietibus, nec hircis, nec tauris: omnia ipsius sunt, etsi non offeras... Nihil mundum invenit in hominibus quod offerret pro hominibus: seipsum ergo obtulit mundam victimam, hostiam immaculatam.... Non ergo hoc obtulit quod nos illi dedimus; imo hoc obtulit quod a nobis accepit, et mundum obtulit. Carnem enim... de utero virginis (accepit), ut mundam offerret pro immundis. Ipse rex, ipse sacerdos: in eo lætemur.—August. Enarrat. in Psal. 149. Opp. Tom. VIII. fol. 361. col. 1. Par. 1532.]

[3 consequenter, Lat.; next.]

[4 Dominum nostrum, Lat. omitted; our Lord.]

minds, by sending this his holy Spirit into our hearts, and to direct us in the sincere way of truth according to the holy scriptures.

And first of all it seemeth not unprofitable to expound the word, spirit, because in the scripture it is diversly taken and very often used; so that not seldom times he shall greatly err, which is ignorant of the force of that word. Spirit properly is the signification[1] of an element, signifying air, wind, breath. In that signification we read this spoken of our Saviour: "The wind bloweth where it lusteth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth." And Paul saith: "If I pray with an unknown tongue, my spirit prayeth, but my understanding is made unfruitful." Lo, the apostle useth spirit for the breath or voice; for he joineth it to the tongue, and setteth it against the mind. By a metaphor it is translated to every bodiless substance, and is set against the body. Spirit therefore signifieth an angel, either good or bad. For the prophet (whose words Paul hath also rehearsed) saith: "Which maketh his angels spirits, and his ministers a flaming fire." And again: "Are they not all ministering spirits?" These testimonies are understood of good angels. When the scripture speaketh of evil angels, commonly it addeth somewhat, as an evil spirit, or an unclean spirit. We call also spirits or ghosts, which have taken some shape that cannot well be discerned, spirits. So the apostles not believing that the Lord was risen again with his true body, when they saw him they thought they had seen a spirit: to whom, shewing his feet and his hands, he saith, "A spirit hath not flesh and bones as ye see me have." Again, spirit is taken for the breath of life; as with the Latins, to breathe[2] is to live, to leave breathing[3] is to die. David saith: "When thou givest it them, they gather it; when thou openest thy hand, they are filled with good. When thou hidest thy face, they are troubled; when thou takest away their breath, they die, and are turned again to their dust." And the Lord in Moses saith: "I will destroy all flesh, wherein there is breath of life." The reasonable soul also of man is peculiarly called spirit, insomuch that spirit is very often taken in the

The word *Spirit* is expounded.

Spirit is air or wind. John iii.

1 Cor. xiv.

Spirit signifieth an angel.

Psal. civ.

Heb. i.

[Luke xxiv. 39.]

Spirit signifieth life.

Psal. cxlv. civ.

Gen. vi.

Spirit signifieth the soul of man.

[1 nota, Lat.]

[2 spirare, Lat.] [3 expirare, Lat.]

holy scripture for the reasonable soul of man. For in the gospel thou dost read, "Jesus, when he had bowed down his head, gave up the ghost," (or the spirit). And thou dost read of the holy martyr Stephen, "They stoned Stephen calling on and saying, Lord Jesu, receive my spirit." For Solomon said before: "The dust shall be turned again unto earth from whence it came[4], and the spirit shall return unto God who gave it." And sometimes spirit signifieth the affection and motion, readiness and provocation of the mind. For Solomon saith: "A man that refraineth not his appetite," or spirit, "is like a city which is broken down." Thou mayest oftentimes find in the scriptures the spirit of pride, anger, lust, or envy, taken for a proud, angry, lustful, or envious affection. Also in Luke xiii. the very sore disease, or source of sickness, is called the spirit of infirmity. The spirit also signifieth those spiritual motions which the Holy Ghost stirreth up in the hearts of the saints, yea, and the very gifts poured into the hearts of men by the Spirit; which in every place in Paul is to be seen. Elsewhere spirit is opposed against the letter, the body, the figure, the type or shadow; and is used for a more high or mystical meaning, and for the very pith of the thing; as when Paul saith: "The circumcision of the heart is the circumcision which consisteth in the spirit, not in the letter." And again: "The Lord hath made us able ministers of the new Testament, not of the letter, but of the spirit. For the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life." Therefore thou mayest find spirit to be taken for inspiration, revelation, and doctrine. For John saith: "Believe not every spirit, but prove the spirits, whether they be of God or not." And again: "Quench not the Spirit, despise not prophecies." Last of all, God is called that unmeasurable and unspeakable power of the Spirit. "God," saith our Lord, "is a Spirit, and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth." By this means the word spirit is common to all the persons of the reverend Trinity: howbeit it is peculiarly applied to the third person in Trinity, of whom we make this sermon.

Luke xxiii. John xix.

Acts vii.

Eccles. xii.

Spirit signifieth affection of mind.

[Prov. xxv. 28.]

Spirit signifieth spiritual motions.

Rom. ii.

2 Cor. iii.

Spirit signifieth revelation.

1 John iv.

1 Thess. v.

John iv.

And albeit the Holy Ghost, forsomuch as he is God, can be compassed within no limits, (for by his own nature he is

What the Holy Ghost is.

[4] sicut fuit, Lat.; as it was, Auth. ver.]

unspeakable, unmeasurable, incomprehensible, everlasting;) yet notwithstanding, that I may say somewhat in a certain order concerning him, if it will be no otherwise, I will at the least[1] shadow out that which the scripture, the inspiration of the Holy Ghost himself, very largely declareth of him. The Holy Ghost is the third person in Trinity to be worshipped, very God, proceeding from the Father and the Son, which enlighteneth, regenerateth, sanctifieth, and fulfilleth the faithful with all good graces. But that the Holy Ghost is the third person in the holy Trinity, I think it is sufficiently at large declared in the third sermon of this Decade. Surely this only sentence of our Saviour, "Baptize them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," doth abundantly confirm to godly minds that the Holy Ghost is the third person in Trinity.

[Matt. xxviii. 19.]

That the Holy Ghost is very God.

Moreover that he is very God, of the same power, glory, majesty, and being with the Father and the Son, that especially proveth, because he is the third person in the holy Trinity Neither must we think that he is lesser than they, because he is reckoned in the third place. For though the blessed Trinity be remembered of us in order, yet notwithstanding there is no degree, no time, no place, or number in the blessed Trinity. For blessed Athanasius made his confession according to the scripture, and said: "The catholic faith is this, that we worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity; neither confounding the persons, nor dividing the substance. For there is one person of the Father, another of the Son, and another of the Holy Ghost: but the Godhead of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost is one; the glory equal, the majesty co-eternal. Such as the Father is, such is the Son, and such is the Holy Ghost. The Father uncreate, the Son uncreate, and the Holy Ghost uncreate. The Father incomprehensible[2], the Son incomprehensible, and the Holy Ghost incomprehensible. The Father eternal, the Son eternal, and the Holy Ghost eternal: and yet are they not three eternals, but one eternal," &c. And Augustine also, in his fifteenth book *de Trinitate*, cap. 26, saith: "In that high Trinity, which is God, there are no distances of times, whereby it may be shewed or at least de-

[1 at the last, ed. 1577, 1587: saltem, Lat.]
[2 immensus, Lat.]

manded, whether the Son were first born of the Father, and afterward the Holy Ghost to proceed from them both[3]," &c.

Truly, we confess that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost is one God, and that the same is eternal. Therefore let it trouble no man, that the Spirit is put in the last place. For when the apostle in his epistle to the Corinthians framed his blessing, he said: "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with you all." He maketh mention of the Holy Ghost in the last place. But the same Paul saith, "There are diversities of gifts, but it is the selfsame Spirit: and there are differences of administrations, but it is the selfsame Lord: and there are divers manners of operations, but it is the selfsame God, which worketh all in all:" setting the Spirit in the first place, teaching that the order of names doth not make difference of dignities. After this manner also in the former testimony, he placed the Son before the Father; not overthrowing the order which the Lord hath set down in Matthew, but shewing the equality of the Trinity in honour[4]. For what canst thou more plainly say than that which the scripture saith, that the Holy Ghost doth sanctify, renew, regenerate, give life, and save? and these are operations agreeable to God only. By operations therefore we manifestly acknowledge, that the Holy Ghost is God, of the same essence and power with the Father and the Son. For the Holy Ghost from the beginning before all creatures, visible and invisible, is a Creator, not a creature, as Job witnesseth: "His Spirit hath garnished the heavens." Again: "The Spirit of God hath made me, and the breath of the Almighty hath given me life." Zacharias the priest and father of St John Baptist saith: "Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, for he hath redeemed his people: as he spake by the mouth of

2 Cor. xiii.

1 Cor. xii.

[Matt. xxviii. 19.]

Job xxvi. [Job xxxiii. 4.]

Luke i.

[3 In illa summa Trinitate, quæ Deus est, intervalla temporum nulla sunt, per quæ possit ostendi aut saltem requiri, utrum prius de Patre natus sit Filius, et postea de ambobus processerit Spiritus Sanctus.—Augustin. de Trinitate. Opp. Tom. III. fol. 101. col. 1. Par. 1531.]

[4 Ἐν μὲν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἐπιστολῇ (1 Cor. xii. 4—6) πρῶτον ἔταξε (ὁ ἀπόστολος) τὸ Πνεῦμα, ἐνθαῦτα δὲ (2 Cor. xiii. 14) τελευταῖον· διδάσκων ὡς οὐ ποιεῖ τῶν ὀνομάτων ἡ τάξις ἀξιωμάτων διαφοράν. Ταύτῃ τοι τὸν Υἱὸν προέταξε τοῦ Πατρὸς, οὐ τὴν τάξιν ἀνατρέπων ἣν ὁ Κύριος τέθεικεν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ὁμότιμον τῆς Τριάδος ἐπιδεικνύς.—Theodoret. Hæret. Fab. Lib. v. cap. 3. p. 258. Tom. IV. Lut. Par. 1642.]

his holy prophets, which have been since the world began."
2 Pet. i. And[1] St Peter saith: "For the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man, but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." By this, I pray you, who cannot gather that the Holy Ghost is God? For God spake by the mouth of the prophets; and the Holy Ghost spake by the mouth of the prophets: therefore the Holy Ghost is
Acts v. God. The same Peter also in express words hath called the Holy Ghost God, when he accused Ananias of theft, yea, and also of sacrilege: for when he had said, "How is it that Satan hath filled[2] thy heart to lie unto the Holy Ghost?" by and by he addeth, "Thou hast not lied unto men, but unto God." To the doctrine of St Peter agree those things in all points, which St Paul the doctor of the Gentiles hath taught. For he called the believers the temples of God.
1 Cor. iii. "Know ye not (saith he) that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?" And again:
1 Cor. vi. "Know ye not that your bodies are the temple of the Holy Ghost which is in you, whom ye have of God, and ye are not your own?" To be the temple of God, and to be the temple of the Holy Ghost, Paul taketh to be one and the selfsame thing: it followeth therefore that the Holy Ghost is God. For in his Epistle to the Corinthians he expressly nameth
1 Cor. xii. the Holy Ghost God: for after he had said, "There are diversities of gifts, but it is the selfsame Spirit;" and had reckoned up the kinds of gifts; by and by he addeth, "And all these things worketh even one and the selfsame Spirit, distributing to every man severally even as he will." And he himself had said a little afore, "There are divers manners of operations; but it is the selfsame God, which worketh all in all."

But Didymus Alexandrinus, a man of excellent learning, doth knit up a most evident argument of the Godhead of the Holy Ghost, declaring also that his nature doth altogether differ from the nature of angels. For in his *Lib.* I. *de Spiritu Sancto*, he hath left this written, St Hierome so interpreting it: "If the Holy Ghost were a creature, he should have at the least a limitable substance, as have all things which are made. For although invisible creatures are not limited within place and bounds; yet in property of

[1 At, Lat.; But.] [2 seduxit, Lat.]

substance they are limited: but the Holy Ghost, since he is in many places, hath not a limitable substance. For Jesus sending forth the preachers of his gospel, he filled them with the Holy Ghost. But neither did all the apostles go to all nations together, but some into Asia, some into Scythia, and other dispersed into other nations, according to the dispensation of the Holy Ghost which they had with them, even as they also heard the Lord saying, 'I am with you always, even unto the end of the world.' Hereunto doth that also agree: 'Ye shall be witnesses unto me, even unto the uttermost parts of the world.' If therefore they, being sent into the furthest parts of the earth to bear witness of the Lord, were severed one from another with a very great distance of place, and yet had present with them the Holy Ghost dwelling within them, whose substance is not limitable; it is manifest that the power of angels doth far differ from this power of the Spirit. For, to use an example: the angel which was present with the apostle when he prayed in Asia could not together at the selfsame time be present with other, which were abiding in other parts of the world. But the Holy Ghost is not only present with men being severed one from another, but is also a continual dweller in every angel, principality, throne, and dominion[3]," &c. Now who cannot here-

[3 Spiritus Sanctus, si unus de creaturis esset, saltem circumscriptam haberet substantiam, sicut universa quæ facta sunt. Nam etsi non circumscribantur loco et finibus invisibiles creaturæ, tamen proprietate substantiæ finiuntur: Spiritus autem Sanctus, cum in pluribus sit, non habet substantiam circumscriptam. Mittens quippe Jesus prædicatores doctrinæ suæ replevit eos Spiritu... Neque enim omnes apostoli ad omnes gentes pariter sunt profecti; sed quidam in Asiam, quidam in Scythiam, et alii in alias dispersi nationes, secundum dispensationem illius quem secum habebant Spiritus Sancti, quomodo et Dominum dicentem: Vobiscum sum omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem seculi. His et illud congruit... Eritis testes mihi... usque ad extremum terræ. Si ergo hi in extremis finibus terræ, ob testimonium Domini constituti, distabant inter se longissimis spatiis, aderat autem eis inhabitator Spiritus Sanctus, incircumscriptam habens substantiam, demonstratur angelica virtus ab hoc prorsus aliena. Angelus quippe qui aderat, verbi gratia, apostolo in Asia oranti, non poterat simul eodem tempore adesse aliis in ceteris partibus mundi constitutis. Spiritus autem Sanctus non solum sejunctis a se hominibus præsto est, sed et singulis quibusque angelis, principatibus, thronis, dominationibus inhabitator adsistit, &c.—Didymi Alexandrini de Spiritu Sancto liber

by gather, that the Holy Ghost is true and very God? The selfsame author hath gathered very many[1] arguments of the true Godhead of the Holy Ghost; and next him the holy father Cyril[2]; and holy Athanasius hath absolutely discoursed upon that matter, *Lib. de Trinitate* II., to Theophilus[3]. These few testimonies, thus far rehearsed, we think shall suffice those that obey and love the truth.

They that stedfastly believe these things are not moved with any strange opinions and questions, curiously yea, wickedly brought in about this matter by ill-occupied persons. For some are reported to have denied the Holy Ghost to be Lord; for they have taught that he is a minister, and as it were a certain instrument of the Father and the Son[4]. But Christ our Lord joined the Holy Ghost to himself and to the Father, when he delivered the form of baptism; for he saith, "Baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." And yet it is manifest that a creature is not joined to the Creator in baptism, neither that there is any servile condition in the Godhead. Therefore the council of Constantinople in their creed[5] give to the Holy Ghost certain terms, whereby they might destroy certain errors, calling him "Lord, and Giver of life:" for when he maketh him Lord[6], he maketh him equal to the Son, and excludeth the condition of a servant or minister. Beside that, he denieth that he is their instrument; for there is one Lord: there are not many lords; and the Son is not lord of the Holy Ghost; but the lordship is common to the three persons, which are only one Lord. And seeing the Holy Ghost is the Lord, surely he is not appointed to a servile ministery, but endued with lordly authority; neither is he an under-servant to do the work, but is a joint worker with the

The Holy Ghost is neither minister nor instrument.

unus, S. Hieronymo interprete. cap. 6. p. 265. Biblioth. Vet. Pat. Tom. VI. Venet. 1770, or Hieron. Opp. Tom. IV. Par. I. col. 497. Par. 1706. In the works of Jerome the treatise is divided into three books.]

[1 alia, Lat. omitted; other.]

[2 Cyril. Dial. ad Hermiam presb. de Sancta Trin. cap. 7. De Sancto Spiritu, quod Deus sit, et ex Deo secundum naturam. Opp. Tom. V. Par. I. pp. 631, &c. Lut. 1638.]

[3 Athanasii Opp. de Trin. et Spir. S. pp. 587, &c. Par. 1627.]

[4 The Macedonians.] [5 See Vol. I. pp. 13, 16, 17.]

[6 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, when he *calleth* him Lord: cum Dominum vocat, Lat.]

Father and the Son; yea, and he himself doth work as Lord.

Again, certain other are reported to have taught that the Holy Ghost is not a substance or a person, but as it were an accident, that is to say, a stirring up, a provocation, or a motion of a godly and renewed mind. And in very deed our mind being illuminated with the Holy Ghost is oftentimes called spirit; but we must wisely distinguish the creature from the Creator, and the accident from the substance. The blessed apostle distinguished our spirit from the holy Spirit of God, when he said; "As many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God. The Spirit itself beareth witness to our spirit, that we are the sons of God." And the same apostle saith: "The flesh lusteth contrary to the spirit, and the spirit contrary to the flesh." And who understandeth not, that the mind of man instructed of the Holy Ghost is here called the spirit; not the third person himself in the reverend Trinity? And that mind, as touching illumination, is not of itself, but proceedeth from the Holy Ghost illuminating it; neither cometh it from any other than from him which is the third person in Trinity: but that mind is not the very person of the Holy Ghost: as imagination proceedeth from the soul, and yet it is not the soul itself. That stirring of the spirit in us is an accident; but God is not an accident, neither is mingled with the accident. We must therefore confess, according to the scriptures, that the Holy Ghost is a person subsisting, co-equal in nature or essence with the Father and the Son, and therefore to be worshipped and glorified of us, as very God and Creator: again, that a godly and holy motion stirred up in the minds of holy men by the Spirit is the effect and working[7] of this Holy Spirit, and is called a holy spirit, but after a certain manner proper to it. Otherwise we deny not that the Holy Ghost himself, being promised, is communicated unto us, but after our capacity and as he will. For what is he amongst men that is able to comprehend the fulness of the everlasting and incomprehensible God?

The Holy Ghost is a substance, not an accident.

Rom. viii.

Gal. v.

Furthermore, touching the proceeding of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son, the divines have curiously, subtilly, and busily disputed. For the question is asked, Whether he proceed from the Father alone, or from the Son

Of the proceeding of the Holy Ghost.

[7 creaturam, Lat.]

also? In which question the Latinists seem to disagree very much from the Grecians. The question is also asked, What manner of proceeding this is? We, omitting many curious questions, will briefly declare those things unto you which are wholesome and agreeable with the holy scriptures. For who shall be able to canvass out all the questions of curious men, and all the bold and unclean thoughts of idle heads, without offence to good men, and especially of the simple hearers?

The Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father and the Son.

That the Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father and the Son, the scripture manifestly teacheth, which most plainly sheweth that he is the Spirit of either or both of them. For he it is of whom the apostle saith: "Because ye are sons, God hath sent the Spirit of his Son into your hearts." And the Son speaking of the same Spirit saith: "For it is not you that speak, but the Spirit of your Father, he it is which speaketh in you." Again, the same Son saith of the Holy Ghost, "Whom I will send unto you from the Father." And again he saith elsewhere, "Whom the Father will send in my name." Therefore he proceedeth from both, as well from the Father as from the Son. For although this be read elsewhere to be spoken of the Holy Ghost, "Which proceeded from the Father;" yet it is not denied that he proceedeth from the substance of the Son also. But that more is, Cyril, a Greek writer, expounding the gospel of St John, and interpreting this selfsame place, lib. x. cap. 33, saith: "When he had called the Comforter the Spirit of truth, that is to say, his Spirit (for he is the truth), he addeth, that he proceedeth from the Father. For as he is the Spirit of the Son naturally in his abiding, and through him proceeding, so also surely is he the Spirit of the Father. But unto whom the Spirit is common, surely they cannot by any means be dissevered in substance[1]." Again, St Augustine in his fifteenth book *De Trinitate*, cap. 26, saith: "Who may understand by this that the Son saith, as the Father hath life in himself, that he gave life unto the Son as being then without life; but that he

Gal. iv.

Matt. x.

John xv.

John xiv.

John xv.

John v.

[1 Ἰδοὺ γὰρ, ἰδοὺ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἑαυτοῦ, τὸν παράκλητον εἰπὼν, παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκπορεύεσθαι φησίν. ὥσπερ γάρ ἐστιν ἴδιον πνεῦμα τοῦ υἱοῦ φυσικῶς, ἐν αὐτῷ τε ὑπάρχον, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ προϊόν, οὕτω καὶ τοῦ πατρός. οἷς δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα κοινὸν, τούτοις εἴη δήπου πάντως ἂν καὶ τὰ τῆς οὐσίας οὐ διωρισμένα.—Cyril. in Joann. Lib. x. Opp. Lutet. 1638. Tom. iv. p. 910.]

so begat him without time, that the life, which the Father gave to the Son in begetting him, is co-eternal with the life of the Father which gave it him: let him understand, as the Father hath power in himself that the Holy Ghost might proceed from him, so hath he given to the Son that the same Holy Ghost may proceed from him, and both without beginning; and so it is said that the Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father, that that which proceedeth from the Son might be understood to be of the Father and the Son. For if the Son have ought, he hath it of the Father: surely he hath it of the Father, that the Holy Ghost proceedeth from him[2]." Thus far he. By all this we gather that the Holy Ghost proceedeth as well from the Father as from the Son.

The proceeding of the Holy Ghost is twofold, or of two sorts.

Now as concerning the manner of proceeding we say[3], that the proceeding of the Holy Ghost is two-fold or of two sorts, temporal and eternal. Temporal proceeding is that whereby the Holy Ghost proceedeth to sanctify men; the eternal proceeding is that whereby from everlasting he proceedeth from God. The Spirit proceedeth from both parts[4] from both of them, as well from the Father as the Son. Neither doth he proceed from the Father into the Son severally[5], and from the Son into creatures: for I say the nature and substance of the Father and the Son is one and the selfsame, inseparable, and co-everlasting too.

Temporal proceeding.

Temporal proceeding commonly is called a sending and gift. For the Holy Ghost is sent two manner of ways unto men: visibly, that is to say, under some visible form, as of a dove, and of fiery tongues; as he is read in the gospel, and in the

[2 Qui potest intelligere in eo quod ait Filius, Sicut habet Pater vitam in semetipso, sic dedit Filio vitam habere in semetipso, non sine vita existenti jam Filio vitam (Patrem) dedisse, sed ita cum sine tempore genuisse, ut vita, quam Pater Filio gignendo dedit, coæterna sit vitæ Patris qui dedit; intelligat, sicut habet Pater in semetipso, ut de illo procedat Spiritus Sanctus, sic dedisse Filio, ut de illo procedat idem Spiritus Sanctus, et utrumque sine tempore; atque ita dictum Spiritum Sanctum de Patre procedere, ut intelligatur, quod etiam procedit de Filio, de Patre esse et Filio. Si enim quicquid habet, de Patre habet Filius; de Patre habet utique, ut de illo procedat Spiritus Sanctus. —August. de Trin. Lib. xv. cap. 26. Opp. Tom. III. fol. 101. col. 2. Par. 1532.]

[3 videmus, Lat.; we see.] [4 utrobique, Lat.; both ways.]

[5 divisim, Lat.]

Acts of the Apostles, to have been given to Christ and the apostles: invisibly, he is daily and as it were every moment given to the faithful, the Spirit of Christ watering us with his grace, and giving faith, hope, and charity unto us.

Eternal proceeding.

Moreover, the eternal proceeding of the Holy Ghost, whereby he proceedeth out of the substance of the Father and the Son, is unspeakable, as the begetting of the Son by the Father. Whereupon it is not said in the gospel, hath proceeded, or, shall proceed, but, "proceedeth:" for so the Lord declareth his eternity of proceeding, and that the substance of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost is co-eternal, and unseparable, and nothing at all differing. St Augustine in his fifteenth book *De Trinitate* and twenty-sixth chapter saith: "He that is able to understand the begetting of the Son by the Father without time, let him also understand the proceeding of the Holy Ghost from them both without time[1]." And if any ask this question, Since the Holy Ghost proceedeth from the substance of the Father and the Son, how cometh it to pass that he is not called the Son? I answer, that the scripture calleth the second person the Son, and testifieth that he is the only-begotten of the Father; and that the same nowhere maketh any mention that the Holy Ghost is begotten, or that he is called the Son. Neither have the ancient fathers made any other answer to this question. And I like the similitude which is here expressed: if one stream should flow from two springs, it might well be said to flow from them both, yet it could be said to be the son of neither of them. Hereunto I shall not seem unfruitfully nor beside the purpose to add the disputations of Didymus concerning sending; lest any should understand that perversely, and according to the flesh, which is spiritually to be interpreted by faith. "The Holy Ghost the Comforter is sent of the Son (saith he), not according to the ministery of angels, or prophets, or apostles, but as it becometh the Spirit of God to be sent of the wisdom and truth of God, having an unseparable nature with the selfsame wisdom and truth. For the Son, being sent of the Father, abiding in the Father, and having the Father in himself, is not separated nor sundered

[1 Qui potest intelligere sine tempore generationem Filii de Patre, intelligat sine tempore processionem Spiritus Sancti de utroque.—August. Opp. Tom. III. fol. 101. col. 2.]

from the Father. And the Spirit of truth also, being sent of the Son, after the manner aforesaid, proceedeth from the Father, not from elsewhere removing unto other things; for this is impossible and blasphemous likewise. For if this Spirit of truth be limited within a certain space, according to the natures of bodies, leaving one place he goeth to another: but even as the Father, not consisting in place, is far above and beyond the nature of all bodies; so also the Spirit of truth is not limited within space of place, seeing he is bodiless, and, as I may more truly say, excelling all and every reasonable creature. Because therefore it is impossible and wicked to believe these things which I have said in bodily creatures[3]; we must understand that so the Holy Ghost went out and came from the Father, as our Saviour doth bear witness that he himself went out and came from the Father, saying, 'I went out and came from God.' And as we separate places and changings of places from bodiless things, so also we do separate these speeches, inwardly (I mean) and outwardly, from the nature of things intellectual: for these two words pertain to bodies that may be touched and have bigness. Therefore we must believe the unspeakable word, which faith only and alone maketh known unto us; that our Saviour is said to come out from God, and the Spirit of truth to proceed from the Father[4]," &c. Other questions both scrupulous

Look in the third Sermon of this Decade, about the beginning[2].

[2 See above, page 157.]

[3 ista quæ diximus in corporalibus credere, Lat. Bullinger's reading: but see the quotation in the next note.]

[4 Spiritus Sanctus Consolator a Filio mittitur, non secundum angelorum aut prophetarum aut apostolorum ministerium, sed ut mitti decet a sapientia et veritate Spiritum Dei, indivisam habentem cum eadem sapientia et veritate naturam. Etenim Filius missus a Patre non separatur nec disjungitur ab eo, manens et habens illum in semetipso. Quin Spiritus veritatis supradicto modo missus a Filio de Patre egreditur, non aliunde ad alia transmigrans. Impossibile quippe hoc pariter et blasphemum est. Si enim... Spiritus veritatis juxta naturam corporum certo spatio circumscriptus, alium deserens locum ad alium commigrabit: sed quomodo Pater non consistens in loco, ultra omnem corporum est naturam; ita et Spiritus veritatis nequaquam locorum fine clauditur, cum sit incorporalis, et, ut verius dicam, excellens universam rationalem creaturam. Quia ergo impossibile est et impium ista quæ diximus de incorporalibus credere; exire de Patre Spiritum Sanctum sic intelligendum, ut se Salvator de Deo exisse testatur, dicens, Ego ex Deo exivi et veni. Et sicut loca et commuta-

and very many I pass over untouched: in these things I require a mind religious, and not a curious; a faithful mind, and not a subtil.

Now there is but one Holy Ghost, because he is always one and the selfsame God. It is the same Spirit therefore, which spake unto the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles, and which at this day speaketh to us in the church. For therefore the council of Constantinople is thus read to have confessed their faith: "I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord;" and anon after: "Who spake by the prophets. And I believe one catholic and apostolic church[1]." These sayings
1 Pet. i. are taken out of the holy scripture. For St Peter testifieth in express words, that the Spirit of Christ was in the prophets, and there was none other spirit in the apostles than
2 Cor. iv. the Spirit of Christ. And Paul the apostle saith: "Seeing then we have the same Spirit, as it is written, I believed, and therefore have I spoken, we also believe, and therefore speak." Upon which testimony Tertullian inferreth, and (no doubt) soundly: "It is one and the selfsame Spirit therefore, which was in the prophets and the apostles[2]." He promiseth that the selfsame Spirit shall be always in the church. They erred therefore, yea, foully they erred, whosoever among them of old feigned one God and Spirit of the old Testament, and another of the new Testament[3]. Didymus Alexandrinus, the bright light in his age of all the Grecian churches, in his first book entitled *De Spiritu Sancto*, saith: "Neither ought we to think that the Holy Ghost is divided according to substances, because he is called the multitude

tiones locorum ab incorporalibus separamus; sic et probationes, intus dico et foris, ab intellectualium natura discernimus; quia istæ corporum sunt recipientium tactum et habentium vastitates. Ineffabili itaque et sola fide noto sermone credendum est, Salvatorem dictum esse exisse a Deo, et Spiritum veritatis a Patre egredi.—Didymi Alex. de Spir. Sanct. capp. 25, 26, p. 273. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Tom. VI. Venet. 1770. or Hieron. Opp. Lib. II. coll. 509, 510. Tom. IV. Pars I. Paris. 1706.]

[1 Qui loquutus est per prophetas in unam catholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam, Lat. See Vol. I. p. 158, and Addenda, p. 436.]

[2 Unus ergo et idem Spiritus, qui in prophetis et apostolis, nisi quoniam ibi ad momentum, hic semper.—Novatian. de Trin. cap. 29. Tertull. Opp. Col. Agrip. 1617. p. 741.]

[3 So Manes and his followers.]

of good graces. For he cannot suffer, he cannot be divided, neither yet be changed; but, according to his divers manners of workings and understandings, he is called by many names of good graces, because he doth not endue his partakers with his communion after one and the selfsame power[4]," &c. Furthermore, the Holy Ghost hath increasing or fulness, and diminishing and want in man: not that in God (who, as it is commonly and truly said, neither receiveth more or less) there is any change to be found; but because man, according to his capacity, receiveth the Spirit plentifully and liberally, or measurably and sparingly, even as it pleaseth the Holy Ghost. The portion of the Spirit of Helias was given double from heaven to Heliseus. And it is said of our Saviour, that "the Father gave him the Spirit not by measure." For the Lord himself elsewhere saith: "Whosoever hath, to him shall be given, and he shall have more abundance; but whosoever hath not, from him shall be taken away even that he hath." Saul had received excellent graces; but because he did not use and exercise them, the good Spirit of God departed from him, and the evil spirit succeeded and tormented him. And the Spirit of God departeth, even as it cometh also, at one instant: for when we are forsaken of the Lord, the Spirit of God departeth from us. Whereupon we read that David prayed: "Cast me not away from thy presence, and take not thy holy Spirit from me." And again: "Stablish me with thy principal Spirit[5]."

Increasings of the Spirit.

2 Kings ii.

John iii.

Matt. xiii.

1 Sam. xvi.

Psal. li.

Next after these things it seemeth that we must diligently search out, what the effect and what the power of the Holy Ghost is. The power of the almighty and everlasting God is unspeakable; therefore no man can fully declare what the power of the Holy Ghost is: yet somewhat I will say, making those things manifest which he worketh chiefly in men. For otherwise the Father by the Spirit

Of the effect and power of the Holy Ghost.

[4 Nec existimare debemus Spiritum Sanctum secundum substantias esse divisum, quia multitudo bonorum dicatur. Impassibilis enim et indivisibilis atque immutabilis est; sed juxta differentes et efficientias et intellectus multis bonorum vocabulis nuncupatur: quia participes suos non juxta unam eandemque virtutem communione sui donet &c.—Didymi Alex. ibid. cap. 9. p. 266. Hieron. ibid. col. 499.]

[5 See Vol. II. p. 147, note 6.]

worketh all things: by him he createth, sustaineth, moveth, giveth life, strengtheneth, and preserveth all things: by the selfsame he regenerateth his faithful people, sanctifieth, and endueth them with divers kinds of graces. Whereupon in the description above mentioned of him, comprising in four members his principal powers and effects which shew themselves by their working in men, I said, that he doth illuminate, regenerate, sanctify, and fulfil the faithful with all good graces: which things that they may the better be understood, it shall be good first of all to declare (as well as we can) the appellations or names of the Holy Ghost, which the holy scripture giveth him; and then to recite one or two places of the old and new Testament, to set forth and declare the power of the Holy Ghost.

The Holy Ghost.

First, he is called the Holy Spirit of God, because all creatures as many as are sanctified are sanctified by him. The heavenly Father sanctifieth with his grace, but through the blood of his beloved Son; and sanctification is derived unto us[1] and sealed by the Spirit. Therefore the holy Trinity, being one God, doth sanctify us. It is a wicked thing therefore to attribute sanctification to strange and foreign things: it is a wicked thing to translate purification and justification from the Creator unto the creature. Moreover he is called holy, to make a difference of him from other spirits. For we read in the scriptures, that there was and is a spirit of the world, a spirit of infirmity[2], a spirit of fornication and uncleanness, and a spirit of pride. From all these the Holy Ghost is separated, which inspireth into us the contempt of this world; which openeth unto us the scriptures, and confirmeth us in truth; which purifieth our hearts, and maketh our minds chaste, and so preserveth them: finally, which maketh us lowly and gentle, and driveth away from us all maliciousness.

The Holy Ghost is the Spirit of God and of the Son.

The same Holy Ghost is called the Spirit of God and of the Son: of God, to make a difference between it and the spirit of Satan; and it is called the Spirit of the Son, because it is the proper and natural Spirit of the Son, which he also communicateth unto us that we also might be the

[1 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, *into* us.]

[2 vertiginis, Lat. and Vulgate; of giddiness, Douay Bible, Isai. xix. 14.]

sons of God. For Paul saith: "Ye are the temple of God, and the Spirit of God dwelleth in you." Again: "If any man have not the Spirit of Christ, the same is none of his." And again: "Because ye are sons, God hath sent the Spirit of his Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father." 1 Cor. iii. Rom. viii.

Moreover our Lord himself, in the history of the gospel, calleth the Holy Ghost a Comforter, saying: "I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever; even the Spirit of truth, whom the world cannot receive, because the world seeth him not, neither knoweth him: but ye know him; for he dwelleth with you, and shall be in you." For παράκλητος signifieth a comforter, a stirrer up or a provoker, an exhorter, an advocate or patron which pleadeth the cause of his client. For the Holy Ghost is the mouth, the eye, the heart, the counsel, the hand, and the foot of all the faithful. Didymus, in his work entitled *De Spiritu Sancto*, saith: (Christ), "giving the Holy Ghost a name answerable to his working, calleth him the Comforter; because he doth not only comfort those whom he findeth worthy of him, and setteth them free from all heaviness and trouble of mind; but giveth unto them a certain incredible joy and gladness, insomuch that a man, giving God thanks because he is counted worthy of such a guest, may say, Thou hast given me gladness in my heart: for everlasting joy and gladness is in the heart of them in whom the Holy Ghost dwelleth[3]." The Holy Ghost, verily, alone maketh the consciences of men void of care, quiet, and at peace before God in the matter of justification and in all temptations of the world. Paul saith: "This only I desire to learn of you, whether ye have received the Spirit by the works of the law, or by the preaching of faith." The apostles being beaten with rods, when they were endued with the Holy Ghost and had that Comforter present in their

The Holy Ghost is the Comforter. John xiv.

The Holy Ghost is a comforter, and giveth joy and gladness.

[Gal. iii. 2.]

[3 Consolatorem autem venientem Spiritum Sanctum dicit (Salvator), ab operatione ei nomen imponens: quia non solum consolatur eos quos se dignos repererit, et ab omni tristitia et perturbatione reddit alienos; verum incredibile quoddam gaudium et hilaritatem eis tribuit, in tantum ut possit quis Deo gratias referens, quod tali hospite dignus habeatur, dicere, Dedisti lætitiam in corde meo. Sempiterna quippe lætitia in eorum corde versatur, quorum Spiritus Sanctus habitator est.—Didym. Alexandr. de Spir. Sanct. cap. xxv. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Tom. VI. fol. 272. col. 2. Hieron. Opp. Tom. IV. Pars 1. col. 509.]

[Acts v. 41.] minds, went rejoicing from the presence of the council, because they were counted worthy to suffer reproach for the name of Christ. So we read in the ecclesiastical history that the martyrs of Christ, being full of the Holy Ghost, even in extreme torments and most bitter deaths were most patient, and sang praises and gave thanks unto God.

The Holy Ghost is the Spirit of truth. John xv.

Furthermore, we have heard that the Holy Ghost is called of the Lord the Spirit of truth. For in another place also he beautifieth him with that name; for he saith, "When the Comforter shall come, whom I will send unto you from the Father, even the Spirit of truth, which proceedeth from the Father, he shall bear witness of me." And he is called the Spirit of truth, because there is another hypocritical spirit[1], an erroneous and lying spirit in the mouth of all false prophets. This our Spirit worketh in his worshippers sincerity, gentleness of mind[2], and integrity. Those he teacheth all truth. For our Lord elsewhere in the gospel saith: "That Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you." Therefore the Spirit of truth hath taught the apostles all truth that is to be believed and all godliness; and they have delivered the same fully to the church. For the Holy Ghost driveth away all errors, destroyeth all heresies, confoundeth[3] all idolatry and ungodliness, and poureth true faith into our hearts, and establisheth true religion in the church. The Acts of the Apostles afford us very many of examples. By this Spirit of God the apostles foretold things to come, shadowing out among other things antichrist and the corruption of this our last age, and admonishing the church lest the elect should be entangled in errors and blasphemous wickedness.

John xiv.

The Spirit of promise.

Now he is called the Spirit of promise, for that he was promised of God by the prophets through Christ to the fathers, to the apostles, and to all that believe the apostles' doctrine[4], and was at length also through the same Christ fully given and performed. This word putteth the godly

[1 Spiritus impostor, Lat. omitted; a spirit which is a deceiver.]
[2 candorem, Lat.]
[3 profligat, Lat.]
[4 Rather, Because he was promised from God to the fathers by

in mind, that they should not ascribe the having of this so great and healthful a gift to their merits, but to the mere grace of God. And the Holy Ghost is granted, yea, given unto us, by the promise of God. Whereupon it followeth that all the gifts of God are freely given: which thing the apostle Paul principally proveth, and earnestly beateth into our heads, in his epistles, specially to the Romans and the Galatians. Gal. iii.

In Luke the Lord saith: "If I with the finger of God cast out devils, no doubt the kingdom of God is come upon you." St Matthew, rehearsing the same words, saith: "If I by the Spirit of God cast out devils, then is the kingdom of God come upon you." Therefore the Holy Ghost is called the finger of God, to wit, the might and power of God. Men of occupations[5] work with their fingers: God worketh his works by his divine power, I mean, by his Spirit; whose power is so great, that even his little finger (give me leave so to speak) surpasseth all the power and strength in the world. That appeared in those sorcerers of Egypt. Didymus rehearseth a parable touching the unity of the divine substance, and admonisheth diligently and conveniently, that we should not for corporal things forge and feign unto ourselves a corporal meaning of spiritual things. For he saith: "But beware lest thou, being cast down unto base things, dost imagine in thy mind diversities of corporal actions, and begin to forge to thyself magnitudes, and inequalities, and other members of the body greater and lesser, saying, that the finger from the hand, and the hand from him whose hand it is, doth differ by many inequalities; because the scripture doth now speak of bodiless things, purposing to shew the unity only, and not the measure of substance also. For as the hand is not divided from the body by the which it worketh and bringeth all things to an end, and is in him whose hand it is; so also the finger is not separated from the hand whose finger it is. Therefore away with inequalities and measurings when thou thinkest of God; and understand the unity of the finger, of the hand, and of the

The Holy Ghost the finger of God. [Luke xi. 20. Matt. xii. 28.]

Exod. viii.

Look in the third Sermon of this Decade, what things are spoken against the heretics called the Anthropomorphites[6].

the prophets, and to the apostles and all who believe the doctrine of the apostles by Christ.]

[5 opifices, Lat.]

[6 See above, page 138.]

whole substance, by which finger the law was written in tables of stone[1]." Thus far he.

The Spirit is called water, and a lively fountain.

Now the Holy Ghost is read, as well in the writings of the prophets as also of the apostles, to be shadowed out by water, and a lively or continual running fountain. "I will pour out," saith the Lord by Esay, "waters upon the thirsty, and rivers upon the dry ground." And anon by interpretation he addeth: "I will pour my Spirit upon thy seed, and my blessing upon thy stock." And in the gospel the Lord saith: "If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink. He that believeth in me, as saith the scripture, out of his belly shall flow rivers of water of life." To which in way of exposition the holy evangelist[2] addeth: "But this he spake of the Spirit, which they that believe in him should receive." Surely water maketh barren grounds fruitful, cleanseth things defiled, giveth drink to them that be thirsty, and cooleth them that are in a heat: so the grace of the Holy Spirit maketh barren minds fruitful, to bring forth fruit to the living God; by the selfsame grace our hearts are cleansed from all uncleanness; the same quencheth the thirst of the soul, and comforteth it when it is afflicted, and fulfilleth all the desires thereof.

Isai. xliv.

John vii.

The Holy Ghost is fire.

Fire is simple and pure; and some bodies it consumeth, and other some it purgeth, making them more fine and clean: it warmeth also, and hath many profitable and necessary operations in man. Therefore the Holy Ghost is rightly shadowed out unto us by fire. For he is pure and simple, he consumeth the ungodly, cleanseth the faithful from the

[1 Verum cave ne ad humilia dejectus... depingas in animo tuo corporalium artuum (Bullinger read *actuum*) diversitates, et incipias tibi magnitudines et inæqualitates et cetera corporum majora vel minora membra confingere; dicens digitum a manu, et manum ab eo cujus est manus, multis inæqualitatibus discrepare; quia de incorporalibus nunc scriptura loquitur, unitatem tantum volens, non etiam mensuram substantiæ demonstrare. Sicut enim manus non dividitur a corpore, per quem cuncta perficit et operatur, et in eo est cujus est manus; sic et digitus non separatur a manu cujus est digitus. Itaque rejice inæqualitates et mensuras cum de Deo cogitas, et intellige digiti et manus et totius substantiæ unitatem; quo digito lex in tabulis lapideis scripta est.—Didym. Alex. de Spir. Sanct. capp. 20, 21. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Tom. VI. pp. 270, 271. Hieron. Opp. Tom. IV. Par. I. col. 506.]

[2 historicus sacer, Lat.]

filthiness of sins, and maketh them to burn with the love of God and their neighbour, setting them on fire doubtless with the fire of his love.

The Holy Ghost a mighty wind.

When he was given to the apostles in the day of Pentecost, there was heard a sound as it had been with the force of a mighty wind coming: by which thing was signified, that the doctrine of godliness should be spread throughout the whole world by the power of God and wonderful success, maugre the might of the whole world setting shoulder against the same all in vain. For the wind (no man staying it) bloweth through the whole world, pierceth all places, and no man can keep it out; it hath also wonderful effects in bodies to change them. And the Holy Ghost pierceth all things; softeneth men's hearts; and of froward, stubborn, and rebellious, he maketh most lowly, modest, and obedient men.

The Holy Ghost a fiery tongue.

Fiery tongues appear upon the heads of the apostles and disciples endued with the Holy Ghost; signifying doubtless the operation or working of the Holy Ghost, of which they were signs and assurances. For he instructeth, exhorteth, and comforteth the faithful: neither doth he arm his faithful apostles with cold tongues, but fiery tongues. The apostles, when they preached the gospel, seemed not to speak, but to lighten and to thunder: whereupon also certain of them were called of our Saviour "The sons of thunder."

The Holy Ghost a dove.

Furthermore, the Holy Ghost appeareth in the likeness of a dove upon the Son of God, even then when he was baptized of John Baptist. For a dove is mild and gentle, without malice or harm[3]: whereof sprung the proverb, "manners like a dove, dove-like simplicity;" and, "more gentle than a dove." For a dove is among birds as a sheep among four-footed beasts, which thinketh no hurt to any living creature: whereupon Christ is also called a sheep or a lamb. Of the Spirit of God therefore the wise man saith very well: "The spirit of wisdom is holy, one only, manifold, subtle, quick, moving[4], clear[5], undefiled, plain[6], sweet, loving the thing that is good, sharp, which cannot be letted, doing good, kind to man, stedfast, sure, free from care, having all power, circumspect in all things, and passing through all understanding and clean, yea, most subtle spirits."

Isai. liii. John i. Acts viii.

Wisd. vii.

[3 felle carens, Lat.] [4 disertus, Lat.; lively, A. V.]
[5 illustris, Lat.] [6 certus, Lat.]

The Holy Ghost oil and anointing.

Again, they that are endued with the Holy Ghost are called the anointed of the Lord. For the Holy Ghost is called both oil and anointing: for unless we be watered of the Holy Ghost, we wax barren and waste away; for we are void of lively and heavenly moisture, and of our own nature always wither and wax dry. And of this anointing there went a notable figure before, in the ceremonial anointing of kings and priests. St John saith: "And the anointing which ye have received of him dwelleth in you, and ye need not that any man teach you; but as the same anointing teacheth you of all things, and it is true, and not lying, and as it taught you, abide in it[1]." For the Lord also saith in Jeremy: "This shall be the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel after those days; I will plant my law in the inward parts[2] of them, and write it in their hearts; and will be their God, and they shall be my people. And from henceforth shall no man teach his neighbour or his brother, saying, Know the Lord; for they shall all know me, from the lowest unto the highest, saith the Lord. For I will forgive their misdeeds, and will never remember their sins any more."

1 John ii.

Jer. xxxi. Heb. viii.

But we shewed a little before that the Holy Ghost is the universal teacher of all truth. Hitherto that seemeth to belong which St Paul saith: "It is God which hath anointed us, which hath also sealed us, and hath given the earnest of the Spirit in our hearts." For now the Holy Ghost is not only called anointing, but also the sealing up or earnest of our salvation: for ἄῤῥα, or ἀῤῥαβὼν, is a part of payment, which maketh assurance of the whole sum to be paid, to wit, a pledge. And surely the Holy Ghost doth now testify, yea, it doth seal and assure us, that we are the sons of God, and that, when time is, we shall be received into the everlasting inheritance. Paul again saith: "Ye are sealed with the holy Spirit of promise, which is the earnest of our inheritance, unto the redemption of the purchased possession, unto the praise of his glory." Ephes. i. That assurance doth marvellously confirm and comfort the minds of the faithful in temptations; encourageth them besides that to patience in adversity, and to holiness of life. For hereupon said St John: "Little children, ye are of God, and have overcome them; for greater is he that

2 Cor. i.

The Holy Ghost is the earnest of our inheritance.

Ephes. i.

1 John iv.

[1 See above, p 286, and note 2.] [2 in mentem, Lat.]

is in the world." And again: "Now are we the sons of God, 1 John iii.
and yet it doth not appear what we shall be: but we know
that, when he shall appear, we shall be like unto him, for we
shall see him as he is. And every man that hath this hope
in him purgeth himself, even as he also is pure."

The Holy Ghost love or charity.

And as the Holy Ghost is an unspeakable knitting together, whereby the three persons are inseparably coupled one with another in everlasting love and concord; even so the same coupleth the spouse of Christ with her spouse with a knot that cannot be loosed, and joineth together between themselves all the members of his mystical body in an everlasting covenant. For as the members of our body are joined together whole and sound by the benefit and enjoying of life[3], so the mystical body of Christ is united together by the Holy Ghost. Therefore it is no marvel that he is called Rom. v.
or noted with the name of love, which poureth love into our
hearts.

The operations of the Holy Ghost.

And albeit by these names of the Holy Ghost his operation may be understood, yet will I add certain testimonies of scripture, out of which his power or effect, especially in us, may be more fully understood. Esay almost in the beginning Isai. xi.
of his prophecy, describing the person of the King our Messias,
among other things saith: "The Spirit of the Lord shall rest
upon him; the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit
of counsel and strength, the spirit of knowledge and of the
fear of the Lord; and shall make him of deep judgment in
the fear of God[4]." Though he declared many, yet hath he
not reckoned up all the powers of the Spirit. Therefore it is
not for us to bring into a strait, and with the common sort to
comprise in a narrow number of seven, the powers of the
Spirit. For we have heard hitherto that there is the spirit
of promise, of doctrine, of humility, and gentleness, &c. To
which beside these there are reckoned up very many together; for he is the spirit of wisdom: but how great this
is, and how far it reacheth, it is manifest even in the words[5]
of Solomon. To wisdom is joined understanding, which is Wisdom. Understanding.
said to be the action and applying of wisdom ordered or
framed to things, places, times, and persons. Counsel is re- Counsel.

[3 beneficio spiritus, Lat.]
[4 faciet eum spirare timorem Domini, Lat.]
[5 in rebus, Lat.; in the affairs.]

quired and given in doubtful matters, and sheweth what we
Strength. may most conveniently do. Strength ministereth sufficient force and constancy to execute and perform, yea, and patiently bear, whatsoever by counsel we have learned either to be
Knowledge. done or to be suffered. And now knowledge is an experience
Fear. obtained and gotten by long time and use. Unto these is fear added, that is to say, godliness and true religion; whereunto unless we refer all our sayings and doings, wisdom, understanding, counsel, strength and knowledge, shall nothing profit us. To be short, whosoever is endued with the Spirit of God, whatsoever he shall either do or say will savour of the fear[1] of God; finally, he shall say and do all things unto the glory of God: and all these things truly are freely and fully drawn out of the only fountain of the Holy Ghost.

Paul the apostle, in his epistle to the Romans, describing the wonderful force of the Holy Ghost working in us being new-born, saith: "They that are in the flesh cannot please
Rom. viii. The Spirit doth mortify and quicken. God. But ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if so be the Spirit of God dwell in you. If any man have not the Spirit of Christ, the same is none of his. And if Christ be in you, the body is dead because of sin; but the spirit is life for righteousness' sake. But if the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you, even he that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies, because that his Spirit dwelleth in you."

The Spirit or Holy Ghost revealeth the mysteries of the kingdom of God. 1 Cor. ii. The same apostle in his epistle to the Corinthians teacheth, that by the revelation of the Holy Ghost the mystery of the kingdom of God is very manifestly opened unto us. "God," saith he, "hath revealed them unto us by his Spirit; for the Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God. For what man knoweth the things of man, save the spirit of man which is in him? Even so the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God. And we have not received the spirit of the world, but the Spirit which is of God, that we might know the things which are given to us of Christ[2]." Hitherto pertain these words of our Lord and Saviour out of the holy
John xvi. gospel: "I tell you the truth, it is expedient for you that I go away; for if I go not away, that Comforter will not come unto you; but if I depart, I will send him unto you. And when

[1 spirabit timorem, Lat.]
[2 a Christo, Lat. So Erasmus and Calvin.]

he is come, he will rebuke the world of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgment: of sin, because they believe not on him[3]: of righteousness, because I go to the Father, and ye see me no more: of judgment, because the prince of this world is judged already." And it is evident, that in all these clauses the whole sum of religion is contained which the Holy Ghost most plentifully hath delivered unto the church: which we also touched in the exposition of the names of the Holy Ghost. It followeth in the gospel: "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them away[4] now. Howbeit, when he is come, which is the Spirit of truth, he will lead you into all truth. He shall not speak of himself; but whatsoever he shall hear, that shall he speak, and he will shew you things to come[5]." And since it is certain that the Holy Ghost is come, it is evident that he led the apostles into all truth: insomuch that whatsoever agreeth not with their writings is worthily suspected of a lie. Otherwise I doubt not but he at this day speaketh in the church by those which are his: but it is without controversy, that the Holy Ghost doth not gainsay himself. And that things to come were revealed to the apostles by the Spirit, we have touched in the exposition of the names of the Holy Ghost. Neither is it doubtful but at this day he revealeth many things to the saints in the church, even those things which pertain to the preservation of the gospel of Christ[6] and the saints.

The Spirit foresheweth things to come.

Again, we read in the epistle of Paul to the Corinthians: "The manifestation," saith he, "of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal: for to one is given by the Spirit the word of wisdom, to another the word of knowledge by the same Spirit; to another is given faith by the same Spirit; to another the gifts of healing by the same Spirit; to another power to do miracles; to another prophecy; to another discerning of spirits; to another divers kinds of tongues; to another the interpretation of tongues. But all these worketh that one and the selfsame Spirit, dividing to every man severally even as he will." All these things are manifest, neither need they any further exposition. These are great

[1 Cor. xii. 7—11.] The divers gifts of the Holy Ghost.

[3 in me, Lat.] [4 So Tyndale and Cranmer; portare, Lat.]

[5 Ille me glorificabit: quia de meo accipiet, et annunciabit vobis, Lat. omitted.]

[6 veritatis Christianæ, Lat.]

and evident gifts of the Holy Spirit. Unto which also if we add those words which the same apostle hath set down concerning the same Spirit of God, we will make an end[1]: "The fruit of the Spirit," saith he, "is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance." These I say and all other virtues the Holy Ghost, which worketh all good things in all men, graffeth, planteth, preserveth, defendeth, and bringeth unto full ripeness in the minds of the faithful.

Gal. v.

Tertullian's notable treatise of the Holy Ghost.

To all these we will now add, instead of a conclusion, the most notable[2] treatise of Tertullian touching the Holy Ghost. The same is this: "Because the Lord was departing into heaven, he did necessarily give to his disciples a comforter, lest he should leave them in a manner orphans, which was not convenient, and forsake them without a certain advocate and tutor. For it is he that strengthened their minds and understandings, which distinguished the sacraments of the gospel, which was in them the giver of light in heavenly things, by whom being strengthened and established they neither feared imprisonments nor chains for the name of the Lord; but rather set at nought the very powers and torments of this world, being now armed and emboldened through him, having in them the gifts which this selfsame Spirit doth distribute and direct, as it were certain ornaments to the church, which is the spouse of Christ. For it is he that appointeth prophets in the church, instructeth the teachers, guideth tongues, worketh miracles, and giveth health, bringeth to pass wonderful works, sheweth the discerning of spirits, establisheth governments, endueth with counsel, ministereth and ordereth and disposeth all other spiritual gifts; and therefore maketh the church of God on all sides and in all things perfect and absolute. It is he which in the likeness of a dove, after the Lord was baptized, descended and remained upon him, dwelling only in Christ fully and wholly, not maimed or minished in any measure or portion, but plentifully received into him with his whole abundance, that others might obtain from him a certain distribution of gifts; the fountain of the fulness of the Holy Ghost wholly remaining in Christ, that from him might be derived veins of gifts and miracles, the Holy Ghost most abundantly dwelling in Christ. For Esay prophesying the same said: 'And the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit

Isai. xi.

[1 vela colligemus, Lat.] [2 elegantissimam, Lat.]

of counsel and strength, the spirit of knowledge and godliness, resteth upon him. And the spirit of the fear of the Lord filled him.' The like and selfsame saying he hath also in another place in the person of the Lord himself: 'The Spirit of the Lord upon me, because he hath anointed me; to preach the gospel to the poor hath he sent me.' Likewise David: 'Wherefore thy God hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows.' Of this Spirit the apostle Paul speaketh: for 'he that hath not the Spirit of Christ, the same is none of his.' 'And where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty.' This is he which by water worketh the second birth of regeneration[3], being a certain seed of heavenly generation; and he that consecrateth the heavenly nativity, being a pledge of the promised inheritance, and as it were a certain handwriting of everlasting salvation; who maketh us the temple of God, and bringeth to pass that we be his dwelling-house; who performeth the office of an advocate, maketh intercession for us in the hearing of God with sighs that cannot be uttered; and pouring forth his gifts of defence, is given to be a dweller in our hearts and a worker of holiness; who exercising that in us, bringeth our bodies into everlastingness and unto the resurrection of immortality, while he accustometh them to be partakers in him of his heavenly power, and to be coupled with the heavenly eternity of the Holy Ghost. For our bodies are trained up in him and by him to proceed to immortality, whilst they learned to behave themselves moderately according to his ordinances. For it is he that lusteth contrary to the flesh, because the flesh fighteth against him. It is he which bridleth insatiable lusts, which tameth immoderate concupiscences, which quencheth unlawful desires, which vanquisheth flaming affections, which abhorreth drunkenness, which banisheth covetousness, which abandoneth riotous banquetings, which knitteth the knot of love and charity, which subdueth the affections, driveth away sects, sheweth the rule of truth, convinceth heretics, casteth out the wicked, and is a defence to the gospel. Of him the apostle also saith: 'For we have not received the spirit of the world, but the Spirit which is of God.' Of this Spirit he triumpheth and saith: 'And I think verily that I have the Spirit of God.' Of him he saith: 'And the Spirit of the prophets is subject to the

Isai. lxi.

Psal. xlv.

Rom. viii.

2 Cor. iii.

[1 Cor. ii. 12.]

1 Cor. vii.

1 Cor. xiv.

[3 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, *or* regeneration.]

1 Tim. iv. prophets.' Of him he saith again: 'Now the Spirit speaketh evidently, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed unto spirits of error and doctrines of devils, which speak false in hypocrisy, having their conscience
1 Cor. xii. seared with an hot iron.' 'No man being guided by this Spirit calleth Jesus execrable;' no man denieth that Christ is the Son of God, or forsaketh God the Creator; no man uttereth any of his own words against the scriptures, neither doth any man establish other wicked decrees; no man commandeth contrary laws. 'Whosoever blasphemeth against this Spirit shall never
[Mark iii. 29.] [Matt. xii. 32.] have forgiveness, neither in this world, nor in the world to come.' It is he that in the apostles beareth witness to Christ, that sheweth constant faith of religion in martyrs, that planteth marvellous continency of assured love in virgins, that keepeth the laws of the Lord's doctrine uncorrupted and undefiled in others, that confoundeth heretics, reformeth the froward, reproveth the unfaithful, revealeth dissemblers, and punisheth the wicked, and preserveth the church chaste and unstained in pureness of perpetual virginity and holiness of truth[1]." Thus far Tertullian.

[1 Quoniam Dominus in cœlos esset abiturus, paracletum discipulis necessario dabat, ne illos quodammodo pupillos (quod minime decebat) relinqueret, et sine advocato et quodam tutore desereret. Hic est enim qui ipsorum animos mentesque firmavit, qui evangelica sacramenta distinxit, qui in ipsis illuminator rerum divinarum fuit, quo confirmati pro nomine Domini nec carceres nec vincula timuerunt, quinimo ipsas seculi potestates et tormenta calcaverunt, armati jam scilicet per ipsum atque firmati, habentes in se dona quæ hic idem Spiritus ecclesiæ Christi sponsæ quasi quædam ornamenta distribuit et dirigit. Hic est enim qui prophetas in ecclesia constituit, magistros erudit, linguas dirigit, virtutes et sanitates facit, opera mirabilia gerit, discretiones spirituum porrigit, gubernationes contribuit, consilia suggerit, quæque alia sunt charismatum dona componit et dirigit; et ideo ecclesiam Domini undique et in omnibus perfectam et consummatam facit. Hic est qui in modum columbæ, posteaquam Dominus baptizatus est, super eum venit et mansit, habitans in solo Christo plenus et totus, nec in aliqua mensura aut portione mutilatus, sed cum tota sua redundantia cumulate distributus et missus, ut ex illo delibationem quandam gratiarum ceteri consequi possint, totius Sancti Spiritus in Christo fonte remanente, ut ex illo donorum atque operum venæ ducerentur, Spiritu Sancto in Christo affluenter habitante. Hoc etenim prophetans Esaias aiebat: Et requiescit, inquit, super eum Spiritus sapientiæ et intellectus, Spiritus consilii et virtutis, Spiritus scientiæ et pietatis, et implevit eum Spiritus timoris Dei. Hoc idem

A sum of the unity and trinity of God.

Thus far, not without trembling, we have entreated of the most holy mystery of the reverend Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, which we have learned out of the scriptures: and here now we will stay, humbly worship-

atque ipsum et alio in loco ex persona ipsius Domini: Spiritus Domini super me, propter quod unxit me, evangelizare pauperibus misit me. Similiter David: Propterea unxit te Deus, Deus tuus, oleo lætitiæ a consortibus tuis. De hoc Apostolus Paulus: Qui enim Spiritum Christi non habet, hic non est ejus: Et, Ubi Spiritus Domini, ibi libertas. Hic est qui operatur ex aquis secundam nativitatem, semen quoddam divini generis, et consecrator cœlestis nativitatis, pignus promissæ hæreditatis, et quasi chirographum quoddam æternæ salutis; qui nos Dei faciat templum, et nos ejus efficiat domum; qui interpellat divinas aures pro nobis gemitibus ineloquacibus, advocationis implens officia et defensionis exhibens munera, inhabitator corporibus nostris datus, et sanctitatis effector; qui id agens in nobis, ut ad æternitatem et ad resurrectionem immortalitatis corpora nostra perducat, dum illa in se assuefacit cum cœlesti virtute misceri, et cum Spiritus Sancti divina æternitate sociari. Erudiuntur enim in illo et per ipsum corpora nostra ad immortalitatem proficere, dum ad decreta ipsius discunt se moderanter temperare. Hic est enim qui contra carnem desiderat, quia caro contra ipsum repugnat. Hic est qui inexplebiles cupiditates coercet, immoderatas libidines frangit, illicitos ardores extinguit, flagrantes impetus vincit, ebrietates rejicit, avaritias repellit, luxuriosas comessationes fugit, caritates nectit, affectiones constringit, sectas repellit, regulam veritatis expedit, hæreticos revincit, improbos foras exspuit, evangelia custodit. De hoc item Apostolus: Non enim spiritum mundi accepimus, sed Spiritum qui ex Deo est. De hoc exultat et dicit: Puto autem quia et ego Spiritum Dei habeo. De hoc dicit: Et Spiritus prophetarum prophetis subjectus est. De hoc refert: Spiritus autem manifeste dicit quia in novissimis temporibus recedent quidam a fide, attendentes spiritibus seductoribus, doctrinis dæmoniorum in hypocrisi mendacia loquentium, cauteriatam habentium conscientiam suam. In hoc Spiritu positus nemo unquam dicit anathema Jesum, nemo negavit Christum Dei Filium, aut repudiavit creatorem Deum; nemo contra scripturas ulla sua verba depromit, nemo alia et sacrilega decreta constituit, nemo diversa jura conscribit. In hunc quisquis blasphemaverit, remissionem non habet, non tantum in isto seculo, verum etiam nec in futuro. Hic in apostolis Christo testimonium reddit, in martyribus constantem fidem religionis ostendit, in virginibus admirabilem continentiam signatæ caritatis includit, in ceteris incorrupta et incontaminata doctrinæ dominicæ jura custodit; hæreticos destruit, perversos corrigit, infideles arguit, simulatores ostendit, improbos quoque corrigit, ecclesiam incorruptam et inviolatam perpetuæ virginitatis et veritatis sanctitate custodit.—Novatian. de Trin. cap. 29. Tertull. Opp. pp. 741, 742. Col. Agrip.]

ping this Unity in trinity and Trinity in unity. And let us keep in mind and acknowledge this distinction or division most manifestly declared in the scriptures, and the unity also commended unto us with exceeding great diligence. For in the scripture the beginning of doing and the flowing fountain and well-spring of all things is attributed to the Father; wisdom, counsel, and the very dispensation in doing things is ascribed to the Son; and the force and effectual power of working is assigned to the Holy Ghost. Howbeit, let us take heed lest through the distinction we separate the unity of the substance of God; for there is but one God in whom those properties are. It is but one fire, though there be three things seen in it, light, brightness, and heat. For these rise together, and cease all at once. The light goeth not before the brightness, neither the brightness before the heat. And though one thing be attributed to the light, another thing to the brightness, and a third thing to the heat; yet they work unseparably. Therefore when we read that God created the world, we understand that the Father from whom are all things, by the Son by whom are all things, in the Holy Ghost in whom are all things, created the world. And when we read that the Son became flesh, suffered, died, and rose again for our salvation, we believe that the Father and the Holy Ghost, though they were not partakers of his incarnation and passion, yet notwithstanding that they wrought that our salvation by the Son, whom we believe never to have been separated from them. And when sins are said to be forgiven in the Holy Ghost, we believe that this benefit and all other benefits of our blessedness are unseparably given and bestowed upon us from one, only, true, living, and everlasting God, who is the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. To whom be praise and thanksgiving for ever and ever. Amen.

OF GOOD AND EVIL SPIRITS; THAT IS, OF THE HOLY ANGELS OF GOD, AND OF DEVILS OR EVIL SPIRITS; AND OF THEIR OPERATIONS.

THE NINTH SERMON.

NEXT unto this sermon of the Holy Ghost I will add a treatise of good and evil spirits, that is, of the holy angels of God, and of devils or wicked spirits, and of their operations: of whom since the holy scripture delivereth us an assured doctrine and in all points profitable, it seemeth that we ought not lightly to regard it, but with as much faith and diligence as we can to bring it unto light. It were a foul fault in him that studieth after godliness, to be ignorant of the dispositions of good and evil angels, of whom so often mention is made in the holy scriptures; yea, it were a thing most dangerous, not to know what manner of creatures the devils are, which under that name might easily deceive and spoil us. But first we will speak of holy angels, and then of devils or spirits[1].

The word *angel* some say to be a name of office[2], not of nature, and is common to the Latins and Greeks, of whom it is borrowed, and it signifieth an ambassador or legate, and therefore it hath a larger signification. For the preachers of the truth are called angels, as in Malachy, and in the apostle Paul[3]; for they are the ambassadors or "messengers of the Lord of hosts." St Peter also calleth evil spirits angels: as Paul also doth saying, that the faithful shall one day judge the angels[4]; and that the angel or messenger of Satan was sent unto him. Howbeit the scripture peculiarly calleth angels the blessed spirits of God, ministers, and messengers, and heavenly armies[5].

An angel.

Mal. ii. & iii. 1 Cor. xi.

[2 Pet. ii. 4.]

[1 Cor. vi. 3.]

2 Cor. xii.

[1 or spirits, not in Lat.]

[2 Angelus enim officii nomen est, non naturæ.—August. Tract. de eo quod dictum est a Deo ad Moysen, Ego sum qui sum. (Incerti auctoris.) Opp. Tom. VI. fol. 179. col. 4. Par. 1532.]

[3 In his Commentary on 1 Cor. xi. 10, Bullinger first explains "the angels" of the heavenly beings, and then says: Alii per angelos verbi ministros intelligunt.]

[4 Hunc locum exponens (Theophylactus) angelos, ait, dæmones ipsos appellat. Sunt enim et hi per nos condemnandi. Bulling. Comment. in 1 Cor. vi. 3.]

[5 satellites, Lat.; heavenly, the translator's addition.]

That there are angels. [Acts xxiii. 8.]

But the Sadducees denied that there be angels; for Luke in the Acts of the Apostles saith: "The Sadducees say that there is no resurrection, neither angel nor spirit; but the Pharisees confess both." And indeed the whole scripture doth testify that there are angels, making mention in many places that they have appeared unto men, and have revealed unto them the will of God, or otherwise accomplished his work. Truly the Lord Jesus reasoning against the Sadducees in the gospel saith: "Ye err, not knowing the scriptures, nor the power of God. For in the resurrection they neither marry, nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels of God in heaven." Let us therefore believe that there are angels. For the authority of the Son of God, and the irrevocable truth of the holy scriptures, ought worthily to win more credit with us than the toys of all Sadducees and wicked men. What, have not the heathenish poets and philosophers confessed that there are angels, whom they call gods? For they, feigning that gods in the likeness of men were lodged and entertained of righteous men, seemed to all learned men to have meant nothing else than that which the holy scriptures make mention of, how Abraham and Lot received angels into their houses resembling strangers. But howsoever the case standeth, most certain it is, both by the holy scripture and by manifold experience, that there are blessed spirits of God, that is to say, good angels.

Matt. xxii.

A. Steuchus in his 6th and 8th book *de Perenni Philosophia*[1].

What angels are.

Now what the nature of angels is, it cannot throughly be declared of any man. For there are many things in the order of creatures, whose nature cannot directly and perfitly be expounded: they may nevertheless after a sort, according to our capacity, be shadowed out. Some therefore there are which say that angels are good spirits, ministers, of a fiery nature, created for the ministery or service of God and good men. Other some say angels are heavenly spirits, whose ministery and service God useth to execute all things which he hath determined. Wherefore we shall not seem to miss much of the mark, if we say that angels are good spirits, heavenly substances (I mean uncorruptible), created for the ministery or service of God and men.

[1 Augustini Steuchi Eugubini de perenni philosophia. Lib. VIII. cap. 6, 8. in which he quotes Callimachus, Homer, Catullus, and Virgil. Opp. Tom. II. foll. 140, 142. Venet. 1591.]

That angels are created of God, the writings of the prophets and apostles do witness. For Paul citeth that saying of David, "Which maketh his angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire." The same apostle saith: "By Christ all things are created, that are in heaven and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be majesties[2] or lordships, either rules or powers." Wherefore heretics have set forth toys, saying that angels are workers in the creation of all things and co-eternal with God: for God in time by the Son as well created angels as all other creatures. That angels are created. Heb. i. Col. i.

Now touching the time when angels were created, whether with the light before man, or after man, and all the works of God, let him tell that can; the holy scripture passing it over with silence, and pronouncing no certainty thereof. Epiphanius[3] and Augustinus[4], ancient interpreters of the scriptures, learnedly and truly confess that there is nothing delivered in the scriptures of that matter: and that which is not delivered in the scriptures cannot without danger be inquired after, but without danger we may be ignorant thereof. It is sufficient to acknowledge that angels were created, at what time soever it seemeth they were created. Let us rather give God thanks that he hath created for mankind so excellent ministers. Let us live an holy and angel-like life in the sight of God's holy angels. Let us watch lest he, which transfigureth and turneth himself into an angel of light, under a good shew and likeness deceive us. When angels were created.

Now we must further see what manner of creatures angels are: they are heavenly spirits, and incorruptible and most swift substances. We say expressly that angels are substances, that is to say, creatures having essence or being. For some deny that they are substances, subsisting in their proper essence or being; for they imagine that angels are nothing else than qualities, motions, or inspirations of good minds. But the canonical scripture calleth them ministers. Our Saviour saith, that they which rise again shall be like Angels are substances. Heb. i. [Matt. xxii. 30.]

[2 throni, Lat.]

[3 Οὐδαμοῦ γὰρ τηλαυγῶς σημαίνει τὸν χρόνον τῆς τῶν ἀγγελων ποιήσεως.—Epiphan. adv. Hær. Lib. II. Tom. II. p. 611. Opp. Tom. I. Par. 1622.]

[4 Augustin. de Genesi ad lit. Opp. Tom. III. fol. 102. col. 4. De Incarnat. Verbi. Tom. IV. fol. 209. col. 3.]

[Heb. i. 6.] unto the angels of God. St Paul declareth that the Son of God is more excellent than the angels, for that they worship Heb. ii. him as God their creator. The selfsame apostle saith: "For ye shall read in no place that the Son taketh on him the angels, but the seed of Abraham taketh he on him." Which testimonies most manifestly teach that angels are substances, not qualities or motions in men's minds; that I say nothing now, how they have oftentimes appeared unto men in likeness or shape of men. Let us therefore hold and confess that angels are substances.

What manner of substances angels are. Furthermore, what substances angels are, other peradventure have better declared: for the which I bear no man grudge. I confess that there are good spirits, to make difference of them that are evil: whereof shall be spoken hereafter. I confess that they are good, not so much for the goodness of their nature in which they continued, as for their operation or working; for they always stir up and further us to that which is good. I confess also that angels are spirits, that is to say, spiritual, heavenly, incorruptible, and exceeding swift substances: for the scripture witnesseth Psal. civ. and saith, "Which maketh his angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire." The scripture, I say, nameth angels spirits and a flame of fire, not that angels of their own nature and substance are corporal fire, but because fire after a sort resembleth them which in clearness, beauty, and incorruptibleness, and also in swiftness, quickness, and brightness, are the Bodily substances. most beautiful and exellent creatures. The schoolmen's definitions[1] grossly enough say, that the angels are bodily substances, but of their own kind; for God only is without body. In these words therefore thus they have set down: "Every creature is bodily; angels and all heavenly powers are bodily, though they consist not of flesh. Now hereby we believe that they are bodily, because they are limited in place, as the soul also is clothed[2] with flesh. (Angels peradventure at this day are more aptly said to be local or in place, not circumscriptively, but definitively[3].) We must believe that nothing by nature is bodiless and invisible but God only, that is to say, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost: who

[1 Definitiones ecclesiasticæ, Lat.]
[2 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, *inclosed*.]
[3 G. Majoris Opp. Tom. II. fol. 522. Witeb. 1569.]

therefore is rightly believed to be bodiless, because he is in every place, and fulfilleth and conserveth all things; and therefore he is invisible to all creatures, because he is without body[4]." Thus much from them.

What bodies are taken of angels.

But those bodies either of young men or old men, in which angels oftentimes appeared unto the fathers, were not their proper or natural bodies, but taken upon them and as it were borrowed from elsewhere for a time and for the weakness of our capacity. And what manner of bodies those same very bodies were which they took, or from whence they were taken, or where they were bestowed when they had ended their business[5], it is very hard to declare. St Augustine, in his *Enchiridion ad Laurent.* cap. 59, saith: "Who can declare with what manner bodies they have appeared unto men, that they might not only be seen but be touched, and again convey not with sound substance of flesh but by spiritual power certain visions, not to the bodily eyes, but to the eyes of the spirit or mind, or tell something not in the ear outwardly but inwardly in the mind of man, even they themselves being therein; as it is written in the book of the prophets, 'And the angel said unto me, which spake in me?' (for he saith not which spake unto me, but in me;) or that appear even in one's sleep, and talk together after the manner of dreams? for we have in the gospel, 'Behold the angel of the Lord appeared unto him [Matt. i.] in his sleep, saying,' &c. for by these means angels do as it were declare that they have not bodies which can be handled. And they make a very hard question, how the fathers did wash their feet; how Jacob by taking so fast hold wrestled with the angel. When these things come in question, and every one giveth his conjecture as he is able, their heads are not unfruitfully occupied, if a moderate dis-

[4 Nihil incorporeum et invisibile natura credendum, nisi solum Deum, id est, Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum. Qui ideo recte incorporeus creditur, quia ubique est et omnia implet atque constringit; ideo et invisibilis omnibus creaturis, quia incorporeus est. Creatura omnis corporea est: angeli, et omnes cœlestes virtutes corporeæ; licet non carneæ subsistant. Ex eo autem corporeas esse credimus, quod localiter circumscribuntur, sicut et anima humana, quæ carne claditur.—August. de Eccles. Dogm. capp. 11, 12. Opp. Tom. III. fol. 42. col. 3. Par. 1532.]

[5 post dispensationem, Lat.]

putation be taken in hand, and the error of them which think they know that which indeed they know not be removed. For what needs it that these and such like things be affirmed or denied, or defined with danger, since we may be ignorant of them without blame[1]?" Thus far he. In these and such like causes let us acknowledge his omnipotency and wonderful dispensation, who doth what he will: to whom truly it is not hard to create substances fit and agreeable for his purpose and appointment, since of nothing he made all visible and invisible creatures.

Angels are incorruptible.

Moreover we affirm that angels through the grace and power of God are incorruptible substances, yea, and unchangeable in their felicity, without burden and hinderances. For St Augustine also, *ad Pet. Diac. de Fide*, cap. 23, saith, "that unchangeableness was not by nature graffed in angels, but freely given by the grace of God[2]." The same Augustine, *De Vera Religione*, cap. 13, saith: "We must confess that angels by nature are changeable, if God only be unchangeable; but in that will, wherewith they love God rather than themselves, they remain stedfast and stable in him, and enjoy his majesty, being subject most willingly to

[1 Itemque angeli quis explicet cum qualibus corporibus apparuerint hominibus, ut non solum cernerentur, verum etiam tangerentur; et rursus non solida corpulentia sed spiritali potentia quasdam visiones non oculis corporeis, sed spiritalibus vel mentibus ingerant; vel dicant aliquid non ad aurem forinsecus, sed intus in animo hominis, etiam ibidem ipsi constituti; sicut scriptum est in prophetarum libro, Et dixit mihi angelus, qui loquebatur in me? (non enim ait, Qui loquebatur ad me, sed, in me:) vel apparcant et in somnis, et colloquantur more somniorum? Habemus quippe in evangelio: Ecce angelus Domini apparuit illi in somnis, dicens. His enim modis velut indicant se angeli contrectabilia corpora non habere. Faciuntque difficillimam quæstionem, quomodo patres eis pedes laverint? quomodo Jacob cum angelo tam solida contrectatione luctatus sit? Cum ista quæruntur, et ea sicut potest quisque conjectat, non inutiliter exercentur ingenia, si adhibeatur disceptatio moderata, et absit error opinantium se scire quod nesciunt. Quid enim opus est ut hæc atque hujusmodi affirmentur, vel negentur, vel definiantur cum discrimine, quando sine crimine nesciuntur?—August. Enchirid. ad Laurent. cap. 59. Opp. Tom. III. fol. 37. col. 1.]

[2 Sed hoc ipsum, quod ab illo statu beatitudinis, in quo sunt, mutari in deterius nullatenus possunt (angeli), non est eis naturaliter insitum, sed postquam creati sunt gratiæ divinæ largitate collatum. —Id. de Fide ad Petrum Diac. Opp. Tom. III. fol. 49. col. 4.]

him alone[3]." With these words agree those which are read in *Definit. Eccles.*, cap. 61, in this wise: "The angelical powers, which continued stedfast in the love of God when the proud angels fell, received this in way of recompence, that henceforth they should never feel the fretting bite of the tooth of sin to seize upon them, and that they should continually enjoy the sight of their Creator without end of felicity; and in him so created should continue in everlasting stedfastness[4]." Thus far he. Truly the scripture, shewing the incorruptibleness of angels, affirmeth that we in the resurrection shall be like the angels; for we shall rise incor- 1 Cor. xv.
ruptible: therefore angels are incorruptible. For thus saith our Saviour: "The children of this world marry wives, and Luke xx.
are married: but they that shall be counted worthy to enjoy that world, and the resurrection from the dead, do not marry wives, neither are married, neither can they die any more; for they are equal with the angels, and are the sons of God, insomuch as they are the children of the resurrection." Whereupon Theodoretus, *In Divinis Decretis*, hath thus inferred: "We do not therefore reckon the angels in the number of gods, as the poets and philosophers of the Grecians do; neither do we divide natures that are without bodies into the male and female kind. For to a nature immortal, or that cannot die, division of kind is superfluous: for they have no need of increasing, since they feel no diminishing[5]," &c.

But that the angels are most free and swift, and without Angels are

[3 Fatendum est enim et angelos natura esse mutabiles, si solus Deus est incommutabilis; sed ea voluntate, qua magis Deum quam se diligunt, firmi et stabiles manent in illo, et fruuntur majestate ipsius, ei uni libentissime subditi.—Id. de Vera Relig. cap. 13. Opp. Tom. I. fol. 149. col. 3.]

[4 Virtutes angelicæ, quæ in divino amore fixæ perstiterunt, lapsis superbientibus angelis, hoc munere retributionis acceperunt, ut nulla jam rubigine surripientis culpæ mordeantur, ut et in contemplatione conditoris sine felicitatis fine permaneant, et in hoc sic conditæ æterna stabilitate subsistant.—Id. de Eccles. dogmat. cap. 61. Opp. Tom. III. fol. 42. col. 4.]

[5 Τοὺς δὲ ἀγγέλους οὔτε κατὰ τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ποιητὰς καὶ φιλοσόφους θεοποιοῦμεν, καὶ εἰς θῆλυ καὶ ἄῤῥεν τὴν ἀσώματον διακρίνομεν φύσιν .... τῇ δὲ ἀθανάτῳ φύσει περιττὴ τοῦ γένους ἡ διαίρεσις, οὔτε γὰρ αὐξήσεως δέονται μὴ μειούμενοι.—Theodoret. Hæret. Fab. Lib. V. cap. 7. p. 265. Tom. IV. Lut. Par. 1642.]

most free, swift, and speedy. Acts v.

impediment, burden, and let, the scripture in many places declareth. In the Acts of the Apostles thus we read: "The priests put the apostles in the common prison; but the angel of the Lord by night opened the prison-doors, and brought them forth, and said, Go and stand and speak in the temple unto the people all the words of this life. But when the officers came, and found them not in the prison, they returned and told, saying, The prison truly found we shut with all diligence, and the keepers standing without before the doors."

Acts xii.

In the same book thus again we read written: "Herod put Peter in prison; and Peter slept between two soldiers, bound with two chains, and the keepers before the door kept the prison. And behold the angel of the Lord was there present," or stood by him, "and a light shined in the prison: and he smote Peter on the side, and stirred him up, saying, Arise up quickly; and his chains fell off from his hands. And anon, when they were past the first and second watch, they came unto the iron gate that leadeth unto the city, which opened unto them by the own accord." Behold, no impediments or lets, how strong and mighty soever they were, hindered or stayed the angel of the Lord, that he might not execute most speedily the commission which he had from God. All things give place and make way to the Lord's ambassador. The iron chains fell from Peter's hands of their own accord: he walketh safe through the thick troops of soldiers, the angel going before him: the lock of the prison-door, no man opening it, is unlocked; and when the servants of God were gone out, it is shut again. These angels, that is to say, these heavenly ambassadors, being of their own nature most swift and speedy spirits, are now conversant in heaven, the power of God so willing and working: but so soon as it shall please the Lord of all, by and by they are present with men in earth, unto whom they are sent of God from heaven. And they are present in earth, sometime with one, and sometime with another. Not that they are not contained in their proper place: for when the angel told the women of Christ's resurrection, he was not at the same instant in heaven and by the grave or sepulchre at once. For God only is not contained in place; for he is present in every place. But angels go not forward fair and softly, neither are they moved with labour or toiling, after the manner of

corruptible bodies. Yet in the scriptures they are expressly said to ascend into heaven, and from thence to descend unto us. We very rightly believe that our souls, as soon as they depart out of the bodies, do forthwith enter into the kingdom[1] of heaven: for the Lord hath said in the gospel, "But hath escaped from death unto life;" and, "To-day shalt thou be with me in paradise." And thou dost read of Lazarus the beggar: "And it came to pass that the beggar died, and was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom." To this also now seemeth that saying of Daniel to belong: "As I was yet a speaking, making supplication, and confessing mine own sin and the sin of my people Israel, and pouring forth my prayers before the Lord my God for the holy hill of my God; yea, while I was yet speaking in my prayer, the man Gabriel, whom I had seen before in the vision, came flying hastily unto me." Lo, our souls are carried up into heaven by the angels, which notwithstanding are elsewhere said at an instant to be taken up into heaven. Afterward, as soon as Daniel had prayed unto the Lord, the angel, without any longer delay, flying speedily, (for so the scripture speaketh for our capacity,) is present with him that prayeth, and sheweth him that he is heard of God. Angels therefore are swift and passing speedy, being kept down with no weight, neither hindered nor stayed from performing those things for which they are sent from heaven; albeit they are contained in place as creatures (though not limited), and are moved with a certain order and manner agreeable to that spiritual nature.

John v. Luke xxiii.

Luke xvi.

Dan. ix.

The strength of angels.

This treatise requireth peradventure that something also be spoken of the might, power, and strength of the angels. But what need many words in a manifest matter? For since the Lord, who sendeth forth his angels, is almighty, there is nothing but that angels can do it in those their ambassages and ministeries. There is nothing in the whole course of nature, that is able to withstand the ministers of the almighty God. For angels are not called powers and virtues for nought. I will shew one example among many, and yet not the chiefest. One angel in one night, without any furniture or much ado, slew in the tents of the Assyrians, at the walls of Hierusalem, a hundred fourscore and

[2 Kings xix. 35.]

[1 regiam, Lat.; the palace.]

five thousand of the valiantest soldiers. In Daniel we have such a description of an angel, whereby both the power and excellency of angels may be gathered. "His body," saith he, "was like the Turkish or jasper stone, his face to look upon was like lightning, his eyes as lamps of fire, his arm and feet were like in colour to polished brass[1], and the voice of his words was like to the voice of a multitude." So that it is not needful to make a long discourse of the knowledge and wisdom of angels; for this is not a thing that passeth capacity, seeing angels are creatures. But insomuch as pertaineth to their ambassages and ministeries, surely they are most wise, in all points furnished, and in no part diminished. For he that sendeth them is everlasting wisdom itself, and he furnisheth his ambassadors most perfitly.

Dan. x.

The knowledge of angels.

Furthermore, touching the multitude and order of angels certain divines have wittily and wisely enough disputed. The scripture simply affirmeth that angels are innumerable. For Daniel saith: "A thousand thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand thousands stood before him." It is also read that Christ said to Peter: "Thinkest thou that I cannot pray unto my Father, and he shall send unto me more than twelve legions of angels?" Paul also saith: "Ye are come into the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels." Many distinguish that innumerable multitude into nine companies; and these again they bring into three hierarchies or holy principalities, of which they affirm that each of them have three orders: the first, seraphim, cherubim, thrones; the second, lordships, virtues, powers; the third, principalities, archangels, and angels. They add in what they differ between themselves, and what is proper to every one of them. But St Augustine, in his *Enchir.* cap. 58, saith: "Wherein lordships, principalities, and powers do differ between themselves, let them tell that can: if yet they are able to prove that they say. I confess myself to be ignorant of these matters[2]." And the same Augustine, *Ad Orosium contra*

Of the multitude and order of angels.

Dan. vii. [10.]

Matt. xxvi. [53.]

Heb. xii. [22.]

[1 æris candentis, Lat.]

[2 Et quid inter se distent quatuor illa vocabula, quibus universam ipsam cœlestem societatem videtur apostolus esse complexus, dicendo, Sive sedes, sive dominationes, sive principatus, sive potestates, dicant qui possunt; si tamen possunt probare quod dicunt. Ego mo ista

Luscillianistas, saith: "Truly the apostle saith, Whether seats (thrones), whether lordships, whether principalities, whether powers. And therefore that there are seats, lordships, principalities, and powers in the hosts of heaven, I stedfastly believe; and that they differ somewhat between themselves, I hold it for an undoubted truth: but what they are, and what they differ between themselves, I know not. Neither truly do I think myself for the ignorance thereof to be endangered, as I am for disobedience if I neglect the Lord's commandments[3]." And anon in the same place he sheweth that we must not busily and curiously search after these things: whose counsel we do willingly obey, perceiving that the scriptures, which minister unto us all things necessary and healthful, have set down nothing concerning them.

Yet this we cannot deny, that those names (or if you will so call them, orders of angels) are expressed in the holy scriptures: whereupon for our weakness it is meet after a sort to expound them as we may. These blessed spirits of heaven seem generally and simply to be called angels, because they be the messengers and ambassadors of the most high God: who it appeareth are called archangels, when they be sent in message in God's greatest matters, to shew or do things altogether hard and heavenly. For so we read in Paul, that "the Lord himself shall descend from heaven in a shout, and in the voice of an archangel, and in the trump of God." For, that we may compare small things with great, we see that kings and princes in weighty affairs appoint none to be their ambassadors but noblemen. It appeareth that they are called thrones, because they stand always in the throne[4] of God; or else because God is read

The exposition of names given to angels.

Angels.

Archangels.

1 Thess. iv.

Thrones and seats.

ignorare confiteor.—August. Enchirid. ad Laurent. cap. 58. Opp. Tom. III. fol. 37. col. 3. Par. 1532.]

[3 Certe ait apostolus, Sive sedes, sive dominationes, sive principatus, sive potestates. Et esse itaque sedes, dominationes, principatus, et potestates in cœlestibus apparatibus firmissime credo, et differre inter se aliquid indubitata fide teneo: sed . . . quænam ista sint, et quid inter se differant, nescio. Nec ea sane ignorantia periclitari me puto, sicuti inobedientia, si Domini præcepta neglexero.—Id. lib. ad Orosium contra Priscillianistas et Origenistas. Opp. Tom. VI. fol. 134. col. 1.]

[4 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, *at* the throne.]

in the prophets to have made and placed his own seat in angels, and to be carried of them as it were in the coach of a king; as David saith: "He bowed the heavens and came down, and there was darkness under his feet. He rode upon the cherubims," or was carried upon the cherubims[1], "and did fly: he came flying upon the wings of the wind." Furthermore, the description of the chariot and throne of God in Ezechiel is known. They seem to be called lordships, principalities, and powers, because God executeth his government, and exerciseth his own power in the world, by the ministry of angels. For so also they are called powers and armies, or the host of heaven: for they encompass the Lord round as his guard; and he who is called the God of Sabaoth, or of hosts, the Lord, I say, of all angels, spirits, and creatures, whose ministry he useth, when, where, how, and as much as it pleaseth him, useth them also as his soldiers. St Hierome thinketh they are called cherubims, of their exceeding knowledge[2]. Other expound them swift. Seraphims have their name of ferventness; or else because they are compared to most pure and clear fire; or for that they are burning in the love of God[3].

Psal. xviii.

Lordships. Principalities.

Powers.

Cherubim.

Seraphim.

By these names in the meanwhile are shadowed out the manifold offices and divers operations of angels; which we being desirous to comprehend in few words, have said that angels are created of God for the ministry of God himself and men. For David said: "Which maketh his angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire." And again in another place: "O praise the Lord, all ye angels of his; ye that excel in strength, ye that fulfil his commandments, and hearken unto the voice of his words. O praise ye the Lord, all ye hosts[4]; ye servants of his that do his pleasure." And of angels Paul also saith: "Are not all ministering spirits, which are sent out into the ministry for their sakes which shall be heirs of salvation?" But God useth the ministry of angels upon no necessity, but of his own good-will. For he might be without

God useth the ministry of angels.

[Psal. civ. 4.]

Psal. ciii.

[Heb. i. 14.]

[1 ascendit super, Lat. and Vulgate.]

[2 Cherubim, quod interpretatur *scientiæ multitudo*.—Hieron. Epist. 50. Opp. Tom. IV. Par. II. col. 574. Par. 1693-1706.]

[3 of God, not in Lat.]

[4 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, all *his* hosts; virtutes ejus, Lat.]

them, since by his own word[5] he bringeth to pass what he will: "For he spake, and they were made; he commanded, and they were created;" not one of all the angels jointly working with him. So at this day also he is able, without the help of angels, to bring to pass what he will. But because of his special goodness he created them to the partaking of everlasting life and salvation, he useth their ministry to us-ward, as he also doth the service of other creatures, to whom they declare their faith and obedience to God-ward; and God exerciseth his unspeakable good-will both toward them, whom by grace he hath made partakers of everlasting joy, and also toward us, whom he hath vouchsafed to honour with the service of so excellent a company. For among other innumerable and the greatest benefits of God, whereat not without cause we are astonished, this is not to be accounted the least, that he hath given us angels to be our servants. Truly this is an exceeding great token of his fatherly care and regard to us-ward, first of all[6] because he frameth himself so sweetly to our capacities and dispositions. In time past the Lord himself spake with his own mouth in mount Sina with the church or congregation of the Israelites; but when he understood that they had rather he should speak by their interpreter Moses, he took their wish and offer, and afterward he spake by Moses, using his ministry toward them. Truly God is able to pour most perfite faith into our minds by his Holy Spirit without any joint working of men; but because he knew it was profitable for us that it should so be, he instituted the ministry of his word, and planteth the faith of the apostles by the preaching of the gospel. And that ordinance once made he doth so precisely observe, that when he might have done the same by angels, yet by the angels themselves he sendeth them that are to be instructed in the faith to the apostles. For it is manifest what the angel of the Lord in the Acts of the Apostles did with Cornelius, whom he sendeth unto the preaching of Peter[7]. Therefore, when God seeth the ministry of angels convenient for us, then of good-will, upon no necessity, he useth their ministry toward men. And doubtless angels love men exceedingly; and that which they

[Psal. xxxiii. 9.]

Exod. xix. Deut. v.

Acts x.

[5] nutu suo, Lat.; by his nod.]
[6] imprimis, Lat.]
[7] See Vol. I. pp. 84-86.]

do, they do of their own accord, not of constraint or unwillingly. For they cannot but exceedingly love them whom they see to be so dear to their Creator, that for their sakes he spared not his only-begotten Son, but for them[1] delivered him up into most bitter death: that I make no mention here of the most ready obedience which they perform to their God, who willeth and commandeth them to serve him and men. The Lord in the gospel witnesseth, "that the angels in heaven rejoice at the conversion and turning of men that be sinners." In Zachary the angel of the Lord is brought in very sorrowful for the misery of the captives in Babylon, and careful for their deliverance from their captivity[2]. All which things commend unto us the love and affection of angels toward mankind. For otherwise those blessed spirits are not moved with affections, carefulness or sorrow, as we are in the flesh; but they be glad, and rejoice, as blessed spirits can rejoice, in whom there is no human affection: which affections nevertheless are not only attributed to them, but to God himself tropically or by a figure, and as they say ἀνθρωποπαθῶς, that is, after the affection of man, to the end our minds may the better understand and more easily conceive spiritual and heavenly things, as it were by parables. Howbeit let us think that parables do not always contain all things: therefore our minds must be lifted up to higher things, and spiritual things must spiritually be judged.

Luke xv.

Zech. i.

What the ministries of angels are.

The ministry of angels extendeth very far; which I will declare by rehearsing certain kinds of them as briefly and as plainly as I can.

First, they do service unto God himself in all things; which I think is sufficiently declared in that which went afore. The same God they all magnify together with everlasting praises, worshipping, glorifying, and rejoicing in him. For Theodoret, reciting certain testimonies of scriptures concerning this matter, saith: "The ministry or service of angels is the praising of God, and singing of hymns or songs. For the holy prophet Esay saith of the seraphim, that they cried and said, 'Holy, holy, holy is the Lord God of Sabaoth; heaven and earth are full of his glory.' And of the cherubim the

Isai. vi.

[1 pro omnibus, Lat.]

[2 So also ed. 1584: but ed. 1577, from captivity; ex captivitate, Lat.]

heavenly prophet Ezechiel saith, that he heard them saying, 'Blessed be the glory of the Lord out of his place[3].'" The whole host of heaven also singeth a birth-song to Christ their prince, when he was born, as is to be seen in St Luke, saying: "Glory be to God on high, and in earth peace, and among men good-will." So they go before with an example for men to follow, teaching what they also should do, that is, offer praise and thanksgiving to God on high, whom the angels also reverence and worship with us. Ezek. iii. Luke ii.

Moreover the angels love the truth, and are desirous to have the same spread abroad and the glory of God by all means furthered; and therefore they lay blocks in the way of false prophets, hating them with their accursed doctrine and antichrist. For St Peter testifieth that the angels desire to behold the gospel of the Son of God[4]. In the Revelation of Jesus Christ made to John the apostle the angel of the Lord bindeth Satan; and the angels, furthering the gospel of Christ[5], set themselves everywhere against false Christians and false teachers. For even in the end of the world, "the Son of Man shall send forth his angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom all things that offend, and them which do iniquity, and shall cast them into a furnace of fire." They themselves stand in the presence of the Almighty God, waiting his commandment; who, so soon as he shall command them to go forth and to execute his commandments, by and by they make speed. They come therefore unto men to declare the will and commandments of God. So the angel Gabriel came first to Zachary, the father of John Baptist; afterward he came to the blessed virgin, to shew unto her the incarnation of the Son of God. Innumerable examples of this kind are everywhere found in the holy scriptures. 1 Pet. i. [Matt. xiii. 41, 42.] Luke i.

[3 Λειτουργία δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἡ ὑμνῳδία· περὶ μὲν γὰρ τῶν Σεραφὶμ ὁ μακάριός φησιν Ἡσαΐας, ὅτι ἐκέκραγον καὶ ἔλεγον, Ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος, Κύριος Σαβαώθ· πλήρης ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ. Περὶ δὲ τῶν Χερουβὶμ ὁ θεῖος εἶπεν Ἐζεκιὴλ, ὡς ἤκουσε λεγόντων, Εὐλογημένη ἡ δόξα Κυρίου ἐκ τοῦ τόπου αὐτῆς.—Theodoret. Hæret. Fab. Lib. v. cap. 7. p. 267. Tom. v. Lut. Par. 1642-84.]

[4 Nam S. Petrus commemorat evangelium Filii Dei admodum jucundum gratumque spectaculum esse angelis, Lat. For St Peter testifies that the gospel of the Son of God is a most pleasant and grateful spectacle to angels.]

[5 veritatem Christianam, Lat.]

They watch for our safety, being careful for us, yet without molestation; whereof I told you before. They advertise the faithful in time convenient, foreshewing dangers to come; and they also do comfort the afflicted. For the wise men, being warned by the angel that they should not return unto Hierusalem to Herod, avoid great peril. Joseph also being commanded by the angel flieth into Egypt, delivering the Christ or anointed of the Lord[1] out of the bloody hands of Herod. Christ also at the mount of Olivet, being in a bloody sweat, is comforted by the angel. And Hagar, the handmaid of Sara, being in extreme danger, is recreated by the consolation of an angel. As also the apostle St Paul, being very near shipwreck, heareth this voice of the angel of the Lord: "Fear not, Paul; thou must be brought before Cæsar: and, lo, God hath given thee all them that sail with thee."

Matt. ii.

[Luke xxii. 43, 44.]

Gen. xvi.

Acts xxvii.

Again, angels are sent for revengement of mischievous persons; to take punishment, I mean, of those that be wicked and impenitent. For the first-born of the Egyptians are smitten of the angel. In the Acts of the Apostles the angel of the Lord smiteth Herod Agrippa. It is said that in the camp of the Assyrians many were smitten and slain of one angel. And David saw an angel with a sword drawn hovering between heaven and earth, afflicting the people with a most grievous plague. So we believe that the holy angels shall come with the Son of man unto judgment, as Paul witnesseth, and saith: "Our Lord Jesus Christ shall be revealed from heaven, with the angels of his power, in flaming fire, rendering vengeance unto them that know not God, and that obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ." For in the Revelation of Jesus Christ also the angels pour out vials full of the wrath of God upon the heads of false Christians[2].

Exod. xii.

Acts xii.

2 Kings xix.

[2 Sam. xxiv. 16, 17.]

2 Thess. i.

Rev. xvi.

Moreover, they take upon them the charge and defence of us, God so commanding: they are our keepers, ready at hand watching over us that no adversity happen unto us, and do guide our ways: for hitherto belong the testimonies of the Psalms, and very many examples of the scripture. David saith: "This poor (or afflicted) man cried, and the Lord heard him, and saved him out of all his troubles. The angel of the Lord pitcheth his tents round about them that fear him, and delivereth them." And in another psalm he saith:

Psal. xxxiv.

[1 Christum Dominum, Lat.] [2 antichristianorum, Lat.]

"There shall no evil come unto thee, neither shall any plague come near thy tabernacle (or dwelling). For he shall give his angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways. They shall bear thee in their hands, that thou hurt not thy foot against a stone. Thou shalt go (or walk) upon the lion and adder (or asp); the young lion and the dragon shalt thou tread under thy feet." And the Lord in the gospel plainly saith, that little children have angels without doubt to be their keepers. Jacob the patriarch, greatly fearing his brother Esau, seeth angels coming to meet him; and understandeth that angels were given unto him as guides and keepers of him in his way against the fierceness of his brother. In the affairs of Heliseus we read, that the king of Syria besieged the city Dothan with a great host, wherein Heliseus at that time led his life, whom he had purposed to take. When the servant of Heliseus perceived that, and was troubled in mind, and lamented his master's case, Heliseus said, "Fear not; for they that be with us are more than they that be with them." The prophet also prayed and said, "Lord, I beseech thee, open his* eyes[3], that he may see. And the Lord opened the eyes of the servant, and he looked, and behold, the mountain was full of horses and fiery chariots;" that is to say, he was armed and defended with the guard of an host of angels. Abraham also saith to his servant: "The Lord God of heaven, which said unto me, Unto thy seed will I give this land, he shall send his angel before thee," namely, to direct thy way, to defend thee, and bring to pass that thou mayest obtain thy desire. For the Lord himself said to Moses in Exodus: "Behold, I will send my angel before thee, to keep thee in the way, and to lead thee to the place that I have prepared." In the Acts of the Apostles thou dost often read that angels served the apostles, furthered their purpose, and defended them against their adversaries.

Psal. xci. Matt. xviii. Gen. xxxii. 2 Kings vi. *Servant's. [Gen. xxiv. 7.] [Exod. xxiii. 20.]

In Daniel angels are brought in for princes, and presidents or governors, of kingdoms: as Michael with Gabriel, princes of the Israelitish kingdom; another of the Persian kingdom; another of the Grecian kingdom; and each of them debate the matter touching his own kingdom, and fight for the same. Not that there is any variance or disagreement in heaven, where doubtless there is plentiful peace, everlast-

Dan. x.

[3 oculos pueri, Lat.]

ing concord and quietness; neither that there are conflicts or battles fought between the angels, as between those gods whom the poet Homer describeth; but by a parable and allusion heaven is compared to the court of some puissant and renowned prince, where ambassadors of sundry countries debate their divers causes: which is done in consideration of our weak wit and slender capacity. For thus we ought to conceive in our mind; that God, who is the only Lord of all kingdoms, heareth all men's suits, and taketh in hand all men's matters; and that angels, at the word[1] and will of God, minister and do service unto God, when it pleaseth him to use their ministry and service. For so Nabuchodonosor also saw in a vision a watchman coming down from heaven, and foretelling the destiny of the tree that was to be hewn down.

Dan. iv.

We must not attribute too much unto angels.

Nevertheless we must here take heed lest, contrary to the nature of true religion, we attribute too much to angels; that we worship them not; that we call not upon them, nor serve them. Indeed, when men hear that angels are given unto them of God for ministers, and that God by them doth good unto us, by and by they think that some honour[2] is to be ascribed and given unto them. But sincere religion doth teach us to acknowledge God the author of all good things; that the angels are the ministers of God, and as it were instruments by whom he worketh, as we see the sun, the moon, and the stars, the patriarchs, the prophets, and the apostles, to be and to have been. But who being well in his wits hath worshipped, called upon, or served, the sun or the stars, though they be creatures very excellent and beneficial unto men? And what partaker, I pray you, of true faith and belief hath worshipped, called upon, or served the patriarchs, the prophets, and the apostles, though they were endued with most precious gifts, and wonderful in working of miracles? We do all worship, call upon, and serve God; and we confess that God worketh by his saints; who together with the holy angels of God require nothing less than to be worshipped, called upon, and served of us. For truly said Lactantius, *lib. Institut.* II. cap. 16: "Angels, since they be immortal, neither suffer nor yet are willing to be called gods: whose only office it is alone to attend upon God with their service, to be at his beck, and to do nothing at all but at his commandment.

Saints will not be worshipped of us.

[1 pro nutu, Lat.] [2 nihil non honoris, Lat.]

For we say that God so governeth the world, as a king ruleth his kingdom; whose officers no man will say are fellows with him in ruling his kingdom, albeit affairs be dispatched by their ministry and service[3]." And therefore we read that St Augustine also said: "When the angels of God hear, he himself heareth in them, as in his true temple, not made with hands[4]." Verily, if we look more narrowly into and weigh the holy scripture, we shall find not in one or two places that the name of God and angels are set down without difference. For angels are causes further off, and instrumental, as they term them; but God is the nearest and most principal cause. For in the Acts of the Apostles we read that Stephen said, "And when forty years were expired, there appeared unto him in the wilderness of mount Sinai an angel:" and by and by he addeth, "And the voice of the Lord came unto him saying, I am the God of thy father," &c. He calleth the selfsame Lord, whom a little before he had called an angel: to wit, because he believed that an angel both saith and doth all things at God's commandment; that the word and the work is proper to God, and the angels are as instruments. Likewise in the book of Judges, cap. vi. he is called Lord, which even now was called an angel. Hagar, the handmaid of Sara, received a great benefit in the desert by the angel of the Lord; yet she accounteth not the same received of the angel, but of the Lord: she giveth not thanks to the angel, neither doth she consecrate the memory thereof to the angel; much less doth she worship and call upon the angel; nay rather she referreth her speech also unto God. For so the holy scripture witnesseth: "And she called the name of the Lord which spake unto her, Thou God lookest on me," &c. The children of Israel, before whom the angel of the Lord went in the wilderness, never offered sacrifice to their guide or captain, never worshipped or served him. Even so

Acts vii.

Gen. xvi.

[3 Neque angeli, cum sint immortales, dici se deos aut patiuntur aut volunt: quorum unum solumque officium est servire nutibus Dei; nec omnino quicquam nisi jussu facere. Sic enim mundum regi a Deo dicimus, ut a rectore provinciam: cujus apparitores nemo socios esse in regenda provincia dixerit, quamvis illorum ministerio res geratur.—Lactant. Instit. Lib. II. cap. 16.]

[4 Nam et cum exaudiunt angeli ejus, ipse (Deus) in eis exaudit, tamquam in vero nec manufacto templo suo.—Augustin. de Civit. Dei. Lib. x. cap. 12. Opp. Tom. v. Par. 1532.]

the servant of Abraham, being committed to the angel, doth not make supplication unto him, desiring him well to prosper his purpose; but he prayeth unto God, and requireth of him to shew and give trial of his mercy toward his master Abraham. In Daniel the angel of the Lord appeareth
[Dan. iii.] walking among Daniel's fellows which were cast into the burning oven; but when they were delivered from the violence of the flame, they do not praise the angel, neither account the benefit of their delivery received of him, but of God only: for they sing, "Blessed art thou, O Lord God of our fathers; right worthy to be praised and honoured in that name of thine for evermore[1]." So in like manner Paul in express words confesseth that it is God whose he is, and whom he worshippeth; though in the meanwhile he had made mention also of an angel: for so he saith in the Acts,
Acts xxvii. "There stood by me this night the angel of God, whose I am, and whom I serve," that is to say, God. For in another place John being willing to worship at the angel's feet, the
Rev. xxii. angel crieth, "See thou do it not; for I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren the prophets, and of them which keep the words of this book." These plain and manifest testimonies of holy scripture evidently teach us, that although God use the ministry of angels toward us, yet that they are to be acknowledged and confessed of us to be ministers of God and fellow-servants, and therefore not to be worshipped or called upon; but that God only must be worshipped, called upon, and served.

From this holy doctrine of scripture certain ministers and ecclesiastical writers of the ancient church have nothing swerved. For Lactantius in that book which we cited a little before saith: "Angels will have no honour given unto them, whose honour is in God. But they which revolted and fell from the ministry of God, because they are enemies of the truth and offenders, they go about to challenge to themselves the name of God and the worship of gods[2]." And now St

[1 Song of the three holy children, 3 Dan. iii. 26, (Apocryphal,) Vulgate.]

[2 Nullum sibi honorem tribui volunt (angeli), quorum omnis honor in Deo est. Illi autem, qui desciverunt a Dei ministerio, quia sunt veritatis inimici et prævaricatores Dei, nomen sibi et cultum deorum vendicare conantur.—Lactant. Instit. Lib. II. cap. 16.]

Augustine, being of the same judgment in this matter, hath thus left written: "Whom might I find" (now he speaketh unto God) "to reconcile me unto thee? What, should I go unto angels? With what prayer, with what vows? Many endeavouring to return unto thee, and not being able of themselves, have assayed (as I hear) these ways, and have fallen into a desire and longing after curious visions, and are counted worthy to be deceived[3]." These things are extant, Lib. x. *Confess.* cap. 42. After which he sheweth at large, that Jesus Christ is the only Mediator and Intercessor for all the faithful. The same Augustine, in his tenth book *de Civitate Dei*, cap. 16, declareth in many words, that the good angels of God require sacrifices not for themselves but for God[4]. In his last chapter of his book *de Vera Religione*, he saith: "Let us believe that the best angels will that God be served with the best and most excellent ministry; that together with them we should worship one God, in the contemplation and beholding of whom they are blessed. For we are not blessed by seeing the angels, but by seeing the truth; whereby we also love the very angels, and rejoice together with them. Wherefore we honour them for love, not of duty. Neither do we build temples unto them; for they are unwilling in such sort to be honoured of us; because they know that we ourselves, if we be good, are the temples of the most high God. It is well written therefore that an angel forbad a man to worship him, but willed him to worship one only God, under whom he also was a fellow-servant with him[5]." The

The worshipping of angels greatly condemned.

[3 Quem invenirem qui me reconciliaret tibi? Ambiendum (Bullinger read, An eundum) mihi fuit ad angelos? Qua prece? quibus sacramentis? Multi conantes ad te redire, neque per seipsos valentes, sicut audio, tentaverunt hæc, et inciderunt in desiderium curiosarum visionum, et digni habiti sunt illusionibus.—August. Confess. Lib. x. cap. 67. (alii 42).]

[4 ... per sacrificium non sibi, sed ei (Deo) nos subdere volunt (angeli boni).—Id. Opp. Tom. v. fol. 123. col. 3, 4.]

[5 Hoc etiam ipsos optimos angelos et excellentissima Dei ministeria velle credamus, ut unum cum ipsis colamus Deum, cujus contemplatione beati sunt. Neque enim et nos videndo angelos beati sumus, sed videndo veritatem, qua etiam ipsos diligimus angelos, et his congratulamur ... Quare honoramus eos caritate, non servitute; nec eis templa construimus; nolunt enim se sic honorari a nobis, quia nos ipsos, cum boni sumus, templa summi Dei esse noverunt. Recte

same Augustine therefore in his catalogue of heretics reckoneth worshippers of angels among heretics, naming them *angelici*, angel-worshippers[1]. For in his disputation against Maximinus, bishop of the Arians, Lib. I. proving the Holy Ghost to be God, he manifestly calleth worshippers of angels sacrilegious persons, and cursed of Christ and his church. The words of the author, if any require, are these: "If we should make a temple (saith he) of wood and stone to the holy angel, that is most excellent, should we not be cursed of the truth of Christ, and of the church of God? because we do that service to a creature, which only is due to one God. If therefore by building a temple to any kind of creature we should rob God of his honour, how is not he the true God to whom we build not a temple, but we ourselves are his temple[3]?" Thus saith he.

Mark what he thinketh of the temple built to St Michael in Mount Garganus[2].

Of evil spirits.

These things have I hitherto spoken in brevity of the holy or good angels of God: now I pass over to discourse of evil spirits, of wicked angels I mean and revolting, that is to say, of evil spirits, or devils. Hereof I will briefly and plainly speak that which the holy scriptures minister unto me.

That there are devils.

That there are devils the Sadducees in times past denied, and at this day also some scarce religious, nay rather epicures, deny the same[4]: who, unless they repent, shall one day feel, to their exceeding great pain and smart, both that there are devils, and that they are tormentors and executioners of all wicked men and epicures. For the whole scripture and all

itaque scribitur hominem ab angelo prohibitum, ne se adoraret, sed unum Deum, sub quo ei esset et ille conservus.—Id. de Vera Relig. cap. 55. Tom. I. fol. 156. col. 2.]

[1 Angelici, in angelorum cultu inclinati, quos Epiphanius jam omnino defecisse testatur.—Id. de Hæres. cap. 39. Opp. Tom. VI. fol. 4. col. 3.]

[2 This highly-venerated church, dug out of the solid rock, is in a cave of Mount St Angelo, the ancient Mons Garganus. Cramer's Italy, Vol. II. p. 277.]

[3 Nonne, si templum alicui sancto angelo excellentissimo de lignis et lapidibus faceremus, anathematizaremur a veritate Christi et ab ecclesia Dei? quoniam creaturæ exhiberemus eam servitutem quæ uni tantum debetur Deo. Si ergo sacrilegi essemus faciendo templum cuicunque creaturæ; quomodo non est Deus verus, cui non templum facimus, sed nos ipsi templum sumus?—August. contra Maxim. Lib. I. Opp. Tom. VI. fol. 142. col. 1.]

[4 See above, p. 330, note 3.]

godly and wise men, as many as have lived from the beginning of the world even unto this day, have confessed that there are evil spirits or devils.

What the devil is.

Now what thing devils are, it is no less hard and doubtful exactly to define by reason, than I said it was difficult to describe fully the nature of angels: howbeit I will shadow them out by one or other kind of description, to the end I may entreat of them in a certain order. Evil angels are corrupt and wicked spirits, and, for their revolting or falling away, everlastingly condemned: subject indeed they are to God, but yet nevertheless adversaries to God and men, for that they turn all their travails and studies to the contempt and despising of God, and to the deceiving and destruction of men.

That the devil is a creature.

First, that the devil is a creature, hereby it is manifest; because there is but one creator only, to wit, that God in Trinity and Unity. He created all spirits: but the devil also falleth in the reckoning of spirits. We said before[5] that the time of their creation is not set down in the scripture, when as we shewed that it was nowhere expressed at what time, whether before man or after man, angels were created. Hereunto we do now add, that evil angels became evil, not by creation, but by their own revolting and falling away. For all things which God created were and are exceeding good: all angels therefore, as men in like manner, were naturally created good. But they continued not stedfast in this goodness granted, given, and graffed in them of God; but they being corrupt with their own malice, as men also are, fell, and were by the most just God thrown out of heaven, as out of the felicity or happiness which was given them. Now when or at what time this was done, the scripture doth not again express: howbeit it seemeth to have been done before the fall of man; for the devil by the serpent egged our parents to sin, and drew them into misery and death. Neither doth the same scripture peculiarly define what manner of sin the devil's was: neither doth it expressly and particularly shew the manner how they were cast out of heaven. It saith generally, that there was folly or wickedness found in the angels, and that therefore they were thrown down headlong into hell. For we read in the book of Job: "Behold, he found no truth

The devil was not created evil.

Of the fall of angels from heaven.

[Job iv. 18.]

[5 See above, page 329.]

in his servants[1], and in his angels there was folly" (or wickedness). St Peter, nothing disagreeing from this, said, that "God spared not the angels which sinned, but cast them down into hell, and delivered them into chains of darkness, to be kept unto judgment." But Judas also, the brother of James, the apostle of the Lord, surnamed Thaddeus, rehearsing the same sentence in a manner, said: "The angels which kept not their first estate (to wit, the nature wherein they were created), but left their own habitation, (to wit, their road[2], their office, and their faith,) the Lord hath reserved in everlasting chains unto darkness[3] unto the judgment of the great day." What, doth not our Lord and Saviour Christ speaking of the devil say thus, "He was a murderer from the beginning, and abode not in the truth?" For hereupon we may gather, that the devil sometime abode or was in the truth, but shrunk and forsook it by faithless falling away.

2 Pet. ii.

[John viii.]

Those testimonies, which witness that an angel sinned by revolting, and was thrown down headlong into hell, are sufficient for godly minds and such as are not curious. Furthermore, out of Esay[4] and Ezechiel[5] there are recited of others testimonies making for the same matter: which as we reject not, so we doubt not but that by an allegory they are applied unto these of ours. That which is alleged out of Luke, "I saw Satan as it had been lightning falling down from heaven," is not so properly expounded of the first fall of angels: for there is another fall of the devil, to wit, whereby he fell from his own tyranny (whereby he had possessed the minds of men, and ensnared them with wickedness and sin) through the coming of Christ into the world, and through the sincere preaching of the gospel. Now there is no doubt that all angels were created good, and that the evil fell through their

Isai. xiv. Ezek. xxviii.

[1 Ecce qui serviunt ei non sunt stabiles, Lat. and Vulgate. He hath found unfaithfulness among his own servants, Coverdale, 1535.]

[2 stationem, Lat.]

[3 So all the editions; but the Lat. sub caligine.]

[4 Quod de Satana exposuerunt hunc locum, id ignorantia factum est. Calv.—Scimus Satanam cecidisse: verum Luciferum in scripturis alicubi vocatum non reperimus. Musculus, apud Maldonat. Expos. Eccles. in Isai. xiv. 12.]

[5 Qui allegorias sectantur, per Principem Tyri Luciferum intelligunt... freti dicto Domini, Videbam Satanam de cœlo cadentem sicut fulgur.—Œcolampad. Comment. in Ezech. fol. 173. Argentor. 1534.]

own, and not through God's fault and folly; whereof I spake somewhat also in the tenth sermon of the third decade, where I entreated of the beginning of sin[6]. To which I will now add the most notable and evident declaration of Theodoret, bishop of Cyrus, taken out of the secrets of the scriptures; who in his *Epitome Divin. Decret.* saith: "Let us consider whether the devils justly suffer punishment, since they received of him that made them a nature like his. And how can he which is good be called the creator of wickedness? And how is he righteous and just, that punisheth the nature which can do nothing that good is, but is tied and bound with fetters of wickedness and vice? But we know that the God of all things, and the fountain of justice and righteousness, is righteous and just. Therefore he will not punish the devils unjustly. And we know that God was their guide and captain, and that the good angels are his workmanship, and that he is called good of all such as are rightly minded. He therefore made not the nature which could do nothing that is good, travailing and bringing forth wickedness only, and doing things contrary to his will and mind. If God therefore did neither make the evil nature, (for he is the maker and worker of all good things, as he himself is good,) then doth he not so much as once think to punish unjustly: for he is just and the lawgiver of justice or righteousness, and he will punish the devil and such also as serve and are under him. Therefore the devil of his own will and accord is evil, and they that take his part. For as God made man good in the beginning, and with free will of mind, these doubtless, to wit, good angels, kept their nature which they received pure and uncorrupt: but those (to wit, men) declined and fell into the worse, and corrupted their heavenly shapes, and they that were like unto God made themselves brutish: so also the devil and rout of devils, which were with other bodiless creatures, did not follow the good will of them toward the Lord God; but being puffed up with the disease of haughtiness and pride, betook themselves unto that which was the worse, and fell from their former state and condition[7]." Thus far he. With Theodoret

[6 See Vol. II. p. 366.]

[7 Ὅτι μὲν οὖν κολασθήσονται (οἱ δαίμονες), σαφῶς ἐδιδάχθημεν. Σκοπήσωμεν δὲ λοιπὸν, εἰ δικαίως τοῦτο πείσονται, φύσιν τοιαύτην παρὰ τοῦ πεποιηκότος δεξάμενοι. Πῶς δ' ἂν ἀγαθὸς εἰκότως κληθείη τῆς κακίας ὁ

doth St Augustine agree in his book entitled *de Vera Rel.* cap. xiii. saying: "The devil, inasmuch as he is an angel, is not evil; but inasmuch as he is perverse and wicked of his will: for, setting more by himself than by God, he would not be in subjection unto him, but, swelling through pride, he fell from his chief essence and excellent being[1]." And again, in his treatise upon Job, xlii.: "Dost thou demand from whence the devil is? From whence also the other angels are: but the other angels constantly continued in their obedience; he by disobedience and pride fell from an angel and became a devil[2]."

The devil is everlastingly condemned.

Now that which I affirmed touching those wicked spirits, who for their revolting and falling away are adjudged to damnation, I see it denied of some, who promise to condemned spirits redemption from their punishments a little before the judgment-day. But against these very many doctors of the church have disputed, all and every one of them condemning with one voice an opinion which the scrip-

ποιητής; πῶς δὲ δίκαιος ὁ φύσιν κολάζων ἀγαθόν τι δρᾶσαι μὴ δυναμένην, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τῆς κακίας πεπεδημένην δεσμοῖς; Ἀλλὰ δίκαιον ἴσμεν τὸν τῶν ὅλων Θεὸν, καὶ δικαιοσύνης πηγήν· οὔκουν ἀδίκως κολάσει τοὺς δαίμονας καὶ τὸν ἐκείνων ἡγούμενον. Καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐπιστάμεθα δημιουργὸν τὸν ἀγαθὸν Θεὸν παρὰ τῶν εὖ φρονούντων ἁπάντων ὀνομαζόμενον. Οὔκουν ἐδημιούργησε φύσιν δρᾶσαι μὲν οὐδὲν ἀγαθὸν δυναμένην, κακίαν δὲ μόνην παρὰ γνώμην ὠδίνουσαν. Εἰ δὲ μήτε φύσιν πονηρὰν ἐδημιούργησεν ὁ Θεὸς, (ἀγαθῶν γάρ ἐστιν ὡς ἀγαθὸς ποιητὴς,) μήτε ἀδίκως κολάζειν ἀνέχεται, (δίκαιος γάρ ἐστι καὶ δικαιοσύνης νομοθέτης,) κολάζει δὲ τὸν διάβολον καὶ τοὺς ὑπ' ἐκείνῳ τελοῦντας· γνώμῃ ἄρα πονηρὸς ὁ διάβολος καὶ οἱ τῆς ἐκείνου συμμορίας. ὥσπερ γὰρ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀγαθὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀγαθὸς ἐδημιούργησεν ὁ Θεὸς, αὐθαιρέτῳ δὲ γνώμῃ οἱ μὲν ἐφύλαξαν ἀκήρατον ἣν ἔλαβον φύσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον ἀπέκλινον, καὶ τοὺς θείους χαρακτῆρας διέφθειρον, καὶ τοὺς θεοειδεῖς θηριώδεις ἀπέφηναν· οὕτως ὁ διάβολος καὶ τῶν δαιμόνων τὸ στῖφος, σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀσωμάτοις γενόμενοι, τὴν μὲν ἐκείνων περὶ τὸν δεσπότην Θεὸν οὐκ ἐζήλωσαν εὔνοιαν, τὸ δὲ τοῦ τύφου καὶ τῆς ἀλαζονείας εἰσδεξάμενοι πάθος, ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον ἐτράπησαν, καὶ τῆς προτέρας ἐξέπεσον λήξεως.—Theodoret. Hæret. Fab. Lib. v. cap. 8. p. 269. Tom. IV. Lut. Par. 1642.]

[1 Ipse (diabolus) in quantum angelus est, non est malus, sed in quantum perversus propria voluntate... Ille autem angelus magis seipsum quam Deum diligendo subditus ei esse noluit, et intumuit per superbiam, et a summa essentia defecit et lapsus est.—August. de Vera Relig. cap. 13. Opp. Tom. I. fol. 149. col. 3. Par. 1532.]

[2 Quæritis autem fortasse, unde ipse diabolus? Inde utique unde et ceteri angeli: sed et ceteri angeli in sua obedientia perstiterunt; ille inobediendo et superbiendo lapsus est angelus, et factus est diabolus.—Id. Expos. in Evang. Joan. Tract. 42. Opp. Tom. IX.]

tures long ago condemned. For the judge in the end of the world, pronouncing definitive sentence against Satan and all the wicked, shall say: "Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, which is prepared for the devil and his angels." Matt. xxv. And by and by the apostle and holy evangelist, a witness of the truth, doth add: "And these shall go into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life everlasting." For in Mark the Lord also said: "In hell their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched." Mark ix. And in John in more plain and pithy words he saith: "They that have done good shall come forth unto the resurrection of life, and they that have done evil unto the resurrection of condemnation." John v. He doth not say, they shall go either into life or into condemnation, but into the resurrection either of life or condemnation, that is, to remain everlastingly in life or death. For Daniel, of whom the Lord borrowed these words, hath said: "And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake; some to everlasting life, and some to shame and perpetual contempt." Dan. xii. For John the apostle saith, that the smoke of those that are condemned and thrown headlong into hell for evermore shall ascend up. Rev. xiv. It is certain therefore, that the condemnation of the wicked shall be altogether without end and everlasting.

Furthermore, in calling the revolting angels spirits, we do not understand by spirit the wicked affection of the heart, or the quality or passion of the mind, or corruption and sin. For the world is not without some which think the devil is nothing else but a mischievous man, or a mischievous and sinful commotion or outrage of the mind[3]. By spirits therefore we understand spiritual substances, endued with feeling and understanding. Devils are spirits and substances. For in the first chapter of Job Satan came and shewed himself among the children (or servants) of God, speaking with the Lord. Job i. The gospel also reporteth unto us, that devils, being cast out of a man, entered into the herd of swine, and drowned them in the depth of the sea or lake of Gaderen[4]. Matt. viii. Moreover the gospel recordeth, that the devil sinned from the beginning, that he continued not in the truth, that he is a liar and a murderer. John viii. Judas maketh mention that the angel fought with the devil. [Jude, 9.] In Mark the devils cry out, and say: "What have we to do with thee, thou Jesus of Nazareth? art Mark i.

[3 See above, p. 330, note 3.]

[4 See Bulling. Comment. in Matth. Lib. iv. fol. 88. Tigur. 1542.]

thou come to destroy us?" But yet for all that our Saviour, being already appointed and made judge, shall say to the devils: "Go into the everlasting fire." All which testimonies agree to substances by themselves subsisting, and not to qualities. Devils therefore are spiritual substances. But what bodies they be which they oftentimes take, and in which they appear unto men, no man I think can perfectly tell: which also we told you a little before, when we entreated of the bodies which good angels took. For truly that devils put on bodies and shapes differing from their own, the history of Samuel raised up by a witch manifestly proveth. It was not Samuel that was raised from the dead, but the captain-coiner of lies, counterfeiting Samuel, deceived king Saul[1]. And Paul witnesseth that Satan doth transform himself into an angel of light. Histories also declare, that the devil is a marvellous juggling deceiver, in taking on him divers forms and shapes.

Matt. xxv.

What manner of bodies they be which the devils take.

1 Sam. xxviii.

2 Cor. xi.

The devil is quick, crafty, and mighty.

And as I said of good angels, that they are speedy in their ministery, without burden or lets; so there is no doubt that devils in their kind and work are well prepared. For the scriptures declare, that they have a thousand shifts, wonderful craftiness and subtilty, and that their knowledge is passing quick and reacheth very far; finally, that they are very ready and never weary to attempt and perform all things. They pass through the whole world with exceeding swiftness, they handle all their matters very craftily; and therefore are marvellous names shadowing out their force and power allotted unto them. For he is called "Satan the old serpent, a deceiver, the prince of this world, the prince of darkness, which hath power over the air, a roaring lion." Of which and of other not unlike I will speak anon more at large, when I have first told you this, that there are an infinite rout of devils. For seven devils are cast out of Mary Magdalen. That devil of whom Matthew speaketh, being no sooner cast out, museth and consulteth how he may be wholly restored again, taking to him seven other spirits worse than himself. Moreover, in Mark's gospel there is mention made of a legion: for the unclean spirit, being asked of the Lord what his name was, answered, "My name is legion, because we are many." Therefore, when there is mention made of Satan elsewhere in holy scripture, it is not so to be taken, as

[Rev. xii. 9. John xiv. 30. Eph. ii. 2. 1 Pet. v. 8.]

An infinite rout of devils.

Mark xvi.

Matt. xii.

Mark v.

[1] Fulke's Defence of Translat. &c. ed. Parker Soc. p. 313.]

though there were either but one substance or person of the devil; for they are comprehended as the members under the head, and as particularities under generalities. The scripture truly elsewhere maketh mention of the prince of the devils; for the enemies of Christ do often cry out: "He casteth out devils by the prince of devils." But yet that saying doth not express what manner of principality that is, and whether orderly among themselves those evil spirits be distinguished. And it is certain that all the ungodly are under one head, as all the godly are under one Christ the Lord. It is certain that all the devils are of the selfsame corrupt will, bending all their force only to this end, to be adversaries to God and hurtful enemies to men. But of the operations, works, or effects of devils I will speak where I shall by the way expound[2] their names or attributes. Mark iii.

Corrupt and wicked spirits generally are called devils, which is as much as if you should say slanderers or false accusers. For διαβολὴ with the Greeks signifieth slander, &c.; and the word *devil* is fetched from the Grecians[3]. For he soweth slanders in accusing men unto God, and in setting men at variance between themselves: that now I say nothing how he goeth about to bring God and his works into suspicion among men. Therefore he is elsewhere called a liar, and the author of lies, and the father of all hypocrites; and therefore the spring of all errors, heresies, and wickednesses. And because Judas was an hypocrite, a liar, a false accuser, and traitor, the Lord rightly gave him the name of a devil. Devil. A liar. John vi.

The apostle Peter called the devil an adversary. For the Lord also himself called him, "The envious man[4]," which sowed tares in the Lord's field. For he is the enemy of God and men, setting himself against the will of God, whose glory also he laboureth to take away, and hindereth the salvation of men, and soweth infinite offences in the Church of God. And truly the Hebrews call him Satan, whom we call an adversary. That word is translated unto men. For in that Peter set himself against the counsel and purpose of God, he heareth this voice of the Lord: "Get thee behind me, Satan." And David also said to his nephew[5] Abisai, Satan or an adversary. 1 Pet. v. Matt. xiii. Matt. iv. [Matt. xvi. 23.] [2 Sam. xix. 22.]

[2 Rather, when I shall have expounded.]
[3 See Vol. II. p. 118, note 1.] [4 inimicum hominem, Lat.]
[5 ad nepotem ex sorore, Lat.: 1 Chron. ii. 16.]

the son of Zeruia: "What have I to do with you, ye sons of Zeruia, that this day ye should be adversaries unto me?" For Abisai gainsayed the counsel and decree of David.

The devil is called *dæmon*, to wit, knowing, crafty, and cunning in many things, ἀπὸ τοῦ δαίω, which signifies, I know. For Plato truly in *Cratylo*, according to the opinion of Hesiodus, doth think that devils, whom we commonly call by this word dæmons, are called and as it were named δαήμονας, that is, wise, prudent, and knowing[1]. Hereunto the word serpent must be referred. "The serpent," saith the scripture, "was subtiler than all the beasts of the field." Therefore did the devil choose the serpent to be his dwelling-place, by whom he might put his guileful devises in practice and deceive our first parents. For he is called the deceiver, the beguiler, and seducer of the world, the old serpent and dragon. For what seducing soever there is in the world, what wicked devices and deceitful practices, they flow from this one fountain of all his mischief. In profane writers this word is used in a far contrary signification. For Socrates in Plato saith: "I affirm that every man is dæmon, that is to say, wise, whosoever is good, and that he is *dæmoniacus*, that is to say, wise and happy, both alive and dead[2]." Wherefore it is a thing very much and often used of Homer to adorn noble personages with this name[3]. But in the history of the gospel *dæmoniaci* are such as are possessed with a devil. Paul, in his first Epistle to Timothy, reduceth and draweth the whole body of deceits and doctrines coloured with a shew of false wisdom unto this head.

Gen. iii.

A serpent and dragon.

1 Tim. iv.

St Peter saith: "Be sober and watch, for your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour; whom resist stedfastly in faith." By the lion he shadoweth out unto us the nature or disposition of the devil; for the devil hath exceeding great strength, he is full of greedy raveny and most cruel fierceness: whereupon he is also called of some a cruel beast. The Lord calleth him a murderer: for he inspired into Cain and all manslayers horrible murders; and at this day also he soundeth the alarum to all wars, to all broiling battles, to all slaughters and se-

1 Pet. v. A roaring lion.

A murderer. [John viii. 44.]

[1 Plat. Cratyl. p. 226. Vol. IV. ed. Bekker. Lond. 1826.]
[2 Plat. Cratyl. ubi supr.]
[3 Hom. Il. α'. 222. 561. λ'. 480, &c.]

ditions; to be short, he kindleth wrath, he soweth hatred, and nourisheth envy. He is named "a tempter;" for he is always egging men to mischief, sparing nothing whatsoever he thinketh can entice and draw us to things most wicked. A tempter.

In the history of the gospel, and in the writings of the apostles, the devil hath well-nigh[4] the name of an unclean, of a mischievous or malignant, of a filthy and wicked spirit. For he fell not from his pureness only through his own fault, in which he was first created of the most pure God; but even now also he is delighted with unpureness, and allureth all men to uncleanness. From this master of mischief proceed all filthy lusts, all whoredoms, adulteries, all excess, drunkenness and surfeiting, all beastliness and vanity, pride and arrogancy, &c. An evil and unclean spirit.

Now the devil also in the gospel is called Beelzebub, because that sometime they of Accaron in Palestine, thinking they worshipped God, worshipped in very deed the devil. St Paul saith: "What agreement hath Christ with Belial?" [2 Cor. vi. 15.] He setteth Belial against Christ, to wit, the devil against God. But Moses put the cogitation of Belial for a wicked and evil thought[5]. Therefore the devil is wicked and ungodly, rebellious and obstinate against God. For they say that Belial signifieth altogether as much as if a man would say, lawless, without yoke and without discipline[6]. There are some also which think that in the Book of Job the devil is figured or signified by Behemoth and Leviathan. Job xl. and xli. chapter.

St Paul giveth the devils divers names, saying, that the godly hath battle "against principalities and powers, against worldly governors of the darkness of this world[7], against spiritual wickedness in heavenly (places), against the governor that ruleth in the air, against the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience:" whom also in another place he calleth "the god of this world." And as God exerciseth his power in the world and in the good for [Eph. ii. 2; vi. 12.]

[4 fere, Lat.; generally.]

[5 Deut. xv. 9. "Beware that there be not a thought in thy wicked (marg. Belial) heart,—that there be not a poynte of Belial." Coverdale. 1535.]

[6 Hebræis componitur vox (Belial) a בלי et יעל, significans vel absque jugo vel absque utilitate.—Bulling. Comment. in loc. cit.]

[7 adversus principes mundi et tenebrarum seculi hujus, Lat.]

the most part by good angels, who for that cause, I said, are called principalities and powers; so because the same God of his just judgment doth suffer the devil to have rule over the wicked, they are rightly called principalities and powers: not that God delivereth unto him the mere and chiefest rule, (for all power belongeth to God only;) but because he suffereth him to execute his tyranny. For he plainly saith that he is the "prince of the world," to wit, of the wicked; for by interpretation it followeth, "He is the prince of the darkness of this world:" and who knoweth not that in the scriptures darkness doth signify ignorance, blindness, unbelief, ungodliness, and wickedness; and, to be short, ungodly men which are drowned in these vices? And again, there is added that which declareth the true meaning: "Which worketh in the children of disobedience." Therefore the faithful and obedient, who are in the kingdom of Christ and not in the kingdom of the devil, are exempted from this rule and government.

The god of this world.

Neither is Satan called god upon any other consideration; for there is added, "of this world." For in very deed the devil is not a god; but because there are found in the world certain madmen who take him for god, he hath the name of God. The blessed father Augustine expounded this no otherwise; for in his treatise upon John xxv. he saith: "God forbid we should think the devil were so called the prince of the world, that we should believe that he is able to rule over heaven and earth: but the world (for he is called the prince of this world) is said to be in wicked men, which are dispersed throughout the whole compass of the earth[1]." And again the same Augustine in his first chapter *de Agone Christiano* saith: "The prince of this world is cast out; not that he is cast out of the world, but out of their minds which cleave to the word of God and love not the world whereof he is prince, because he hath dominion over them which love temporal goods, which are contained in this visible world: not for that he is lord of this world, but prince of those concupiscences whereby everything is co-

The prince of this world cast out.

[1 Absit autem ut diabolum mundi principem ita dictum existimemus, ut eum cœlo et terræ dominari posse credamus: sed mundus appellatur in malis hominibus, qui toto orbe terrarum diffusi sunt.—August. Tract. in Joan. 25. Opp. Tom. IX. fol. 78. col. 2. Par. 1532.]

veted that is transitory. By this concupiscence the devil reigneth in man, and holdeth his heart in possession[2]." The same doctor in his treatise upon John lii. asketh the question, "Whether Satan were not cast out of the minds of the prophets and patriarchs, since it is reported in the gospel that he is cast out by Christ?" And he maketh answer: "Verily, he is cast out quite. How therefore is it said, 'He shall now be cast out?' How think we, but because that which came to pass in very few men is even now foretold that it shall come to pass shortly in many and mighty people; as that saying, 'But the Holy Ghost was not yet given, because Jesus was not yet glorified,' may have the like question and the like answer? For the abundance of spiritual grace was not given as yet, which afterward was given[3]." Thus far he.

Furthermore, when the apostle saith, that "we fight against spiritual wickednesses in heavenly places:" by heavenly he meaneth not heavenly joys, placing the devils in heaven again; but the air, that is, the lower part of the world, yea, and the world itself. For he saith elsewhere: "According to the spirit that ruleth in the air." And truly the princes of this world are in the air, above, beneath, and about us, assaulting us on every side. Otherwise, neither heaven nor the lower region of the air is subject to the rule

Prince of the world.

[2 Princeps hujus mundi missus est foras; non quia extra mundum missus est,... sed foras ab animis eorum qui cohærent verbo Dei, et non diligunt mundum cujus ille princeps est; quia dominatur eis qui diligunt temporalia bona, quæ hoc visibili mundo continentur. Non quia ipse dominus est hujus mundi, sed princeps cupiditatum earum, quibus concupiscitur omne quod transit... Per hanc cupiditatem regnat in homine diabolus, et cor ejus tenet.—Id. de Agon. Christ. cap. 1. Opp. Tom. III. fol. 162. col. 1.]

[3 Sed dicit aliquis, Nunquid de cordibus patriarcharum et prophetarum veterumque justorum non ejectus est (diabolus) foras? Ejectus est plane. Quomodo ergo dictum est, Nunc ejicietur foras? Quomodo putamus, nisi quia tunc quod in hominibus paucissimis factum est, nunc in multis magnisque populis jam mox futurum esse prædictum est? Sic et illud quod dictum est, Spiritus autem nondum erat datus, quia Jesus nondum fuerat glorificatus, potest similem habere quæstionem et similem solutionem... Spiritus nondum erat datus, id est, illa abundantia gratiæ spiritalis, qua congregati linguis omnium loquerentur, &c.—Id. Tract. in Joan. 52. Opp. Tom. IX. fol. 78. coll. 1, 2.]

of devils, that therein they may do what they will, or abuse it as they list; but so far forth as God of his just judgment shall permit. For in this disputation we must always hold for a confessed and undoubted truth, that our Lord God is king and governor of all creatures, and that he keepeth still his dominion over all creatures, and exerciseth the same after a most just and equal manner.

The operations of the devil.

And although out of all these things might be gathered how great and what manner of operation the devil's is, yet thereunto will I add somewhat more, lest anything should seem to be wanting in this matter. In the description of the devil I drew into two heads all his effects, works, or operations. For devils are adversaries to God and enemies to men, whose whole endeavours and drifts tend to the despising of God, and to the deceiving and destruction of men. The sum therefore is this: They bend all their force to the contempt of God and destruction of men. And that their power to hurt is not small, and their understanding also quick to bring all their purposes to effect, we have heard once or twice already. That they have a will to do hurt, there is no cause why any man should doubt. For the Lord said to his disciples in the gospel: "Behold, Satan hath earnestly desired to sift you as it were wheat." And again: "Watch and pray, lest ye enter into temptation." And St Peter saith: "Your adversary, as a roaring lion, rangeth up and down, seeking whom he may devour." And that he withstandeth God, and with continual labour gainsayeth God, and stirreth up all creatures to the hating and despising of God, the scripture doth everywhere testify. He did wickedly instil into the minds of our first parents an opinion altogether unworthy of God, as though maliciously he did envy at their blessed state. For he said by the serpent: "Hath God said ye shall not eat of that tree?" And anon: "Ye shall not die the death. For God doth know, that the same day that ye eat thereof your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil." Unto which deceitful words when they gave credit, they themselves perished, and drew with them the whole world into ruin and destruction. Neither at this day verily ceaseth he to slander and speak evil as well of God himself as also of his works, to the intent that he might draw us together with him into the hating

Luke xxii. Matt. xxvi. 1 Pet. v. Gen. iii.

of God, into distrust and desperation, and to everlasting destruction; for he envieth us our salvation whereunto we are ordained by Christ. But it is better to speak somewhat more distinctly of this thing.

Satan hurts men in their minds, in their bodies, and in their goods. For he enticeth and provoketh our minds to sin. Furthermore he also troubleth the minds of men, and driveth them into an outrage; and being out of quiet in this their outrage, he miserably vexeth, tormenteth, and dispatcheth[1] them. Hereupon thou mayest read that some physicians call this madness or outrage an evil spirit or wicked devil. But he diversely plagueth their bodies, chiefly with diseases. We have the most holy man Job for an example. In the gospel after St Luke it is said, that that woman, which was bowed together, was bound by Satan eighteen years. Again, in the gospel according to St Mark we read of a child which had a dumb spirit: "And whensoever he taketh him, he teareth him, and he foameth, and gnasheth with his teeth, and pineth away;" and casting himself on the ground, lieth grovelling. This selfsame evil spirit taketh away from men their goods, wasteth and diminisheth their substance and worldly wealth. Which thing again is manifest in the history of Job and of the gospel: for Job is spoiled of all his substance, Satan so ordering the matter, by soldiers and robbers. The herd of swine also, being drowned and strangled in the sea, wrought great loss to the Gergesites; and, being violently carried away of the devils, were tumbled headlong into the sea. Furthermore, this mischievous miscreant in accomplishing these things doth somewhat by himself and by wicked angels his fellows, and somewhat by other creatures. By himself he worketh outwardly and inwardly, by tempting and provoking men. For he casteth before our eyes counterfeit and deceitful shapes; changing himself into an angel of light, he windeth himself into the minds of men. He speaketh unto us, setting before us gay promises and most grievous threatenings, howbeit all of them coloured with deceits and lies. For oftentimes he bringeth reasons, probable indeed and apparent, yea, and places of scripture at a blush very agreeable, but yet maliciously wrested to his own purpose. And by this means he

Luke xiii.

Mark ix.

[1] conficit, Lat.]

either hindereth and maimeth true faith in the minds of men; or else he taketh it away and utterly overthroweth it, and by and by possesseth them wholly, and driveth them into most certain perdition. So it is said that when he had entered into Judas' heart, he cast him wholly headlong into everlasting destruction. The heart of man is open unto God only, for he only is the searcher of the heart and reins. But the devil, by circumventing men with his guileful practices; and by putting wicked persuasions into their hearts, is said to enter into men's hearts. And he worketh against man by other creatures also, as by elements, when he raiseth fire, winds, waters, hail, and such like calamities against us. Furthermore, he stirreth up men against us, our friends to vex and betray us, and our enemies to consume and bring us to our end with persecutions, battles, and bloodsheds. The history of Job yet again beareth witness of these things. Whereunto thou mayest reckon persecutions laid upon the worshippers of God. Now also he eggeth false prophets and enchanters against us. Whereunto belong deceitful jugglings and all kinds of sorcery and witchcraft; which the works of the sorcerers of Egypt, and of Simon, and the place of Moses in Deut. xiii. testify to be most effectual. Hereunto chiefly belong false miracles and corrupt answers or oracles. By these truly in times past he did very much hurt to the church of God, as histories testify, neither ceaseth he at this day to do hurt: which thing experience itself doth teach and verify.

John xiii.

For though it be certain that Satan is not cast out by the power of Satan; yet one giveth place to another for a time, to this end, that they may the more easily deceive men, and obtain a kingdom. Christ truly and the apostle Paul foretold, that even the last times should be wonderfully bewitched with deceitful signs and powers. Most evident places touching that thing are extant in Matthew xxiv. 2 Thessalonians ii. chapter. More might be spoken, dearly beloved, and that at large, concerning the operations or workings of the devil; but I trust these things being gathered together in brevity are sufficient, and give occasion to muse of higher things.

Matt. xii.

But let no man so understand these things, as if the devil were able to do all things, and that what he will he can also

do by and by. For his power is definite, or limited and restrained, so that he cannot do so much as he would: otherwise all things had been overthrown and perished long ago. Therefore not without consideration I added in the describing of the devil, that he is subject to God; for he can do nothing without God's permission. Now God permitteth him, either to exercise and try the patience of those that are his, and to hasten their salvation; as it is manifest in the history of Job, and in the words of Paul to the Corinthians, saying, "Lest I should be exalted out of measure through the abundance of the revelations, there was given unto me a prick to the flesh, the messenger of Satan to buffet me." Neither is it doubtful, that in most grievous torments of persecutions he exalteth many notable martyrs, yea, and at this day doth and in times past hath exalted such, unto glory and everlasting rest. Or else he giveth the devil leave to execute violence and cruelty upon men, by that means to chastise their wickedness or to punish their unbelief. For verily the devils are the instruments of God's wrath, to execute his vengeance. For Paul saith: "The coming of antichrist is after the working of Satan, in all power, and signs, and wonders of lying, and in all deceiveableness of unrighteousness in them that perish; because they received not the love of truth, that they might be saved. And therefore God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe lies; that all they might be damned which believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness." And this in a manner is the strength and power of sorcery and enchanting, which is feeble in the faithful.

The power of the devil is definite or limited.

2 Cor. xii.

2 Thess. ii.

Wherefore there is no cause why any man should miserably fear the devil: "But rather sanctify ye (saith Esay) the Lord of hosts[1]; let him be your fear and your reverence." Some say that certain nations of the East worshipped the devil for this cause, that he should not hurt them[2]. But these are stark staring mad. For if it be not God's will, which even now I began to tell you, or if he give no leave, Satan cannot touch so much as a hair of thine. For he could not enter into the herd of swine, which were feeding nigh the lake

We must fight manfully against the devil, but we must not fear him.

[1 ipsum, Lat. omitted; himself.]

[2 Selden de Diis Syris. Syntag. II. cap. 6. et Add. Beyeri. p. 134. Amstel. 1680.]

Genezaret at Gadara[1], and destroy them, but by the Lord's permission. St Augustine also, expounding the thirty-second Psalm, allegeth in these words the history of Job: "What could the devil himself do? durst he take away one silly sheep from the holy man Job, before he said, Lay thy hand on him, that is to say, give me power? He was willing, but God did not suffer him. When God gave him leave, then he was able: therefore the devil was not able, but God which gave him leave. Therefore Job being well instructed did not say, as we now are wont to say, The Lord gave, and the devil hath taken away; but, The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away[2]." And these things do exceedingly comfort the godly in temptations; who understand that nothing can happen to them without God's permission, and that he permitteth nothing but that which maketh for our amendment and salvation, and therefore that we are always preserved by the providence and bountifulness of God. For whatsoever hath hitherto been spoken concerning the power and workings of the devils pertained not hitherto, to dash us out of courage and cast us down; but to make us more vigilant or watchful. The Lord, that overcame the devil and sheweth us the way to overcome him, commandeth us to watch. For therefore he encountered with Satan the first, second, and third time, to instruct us how we should fight against the enemy of mankind. He overcame him for us, that we should not despair of ability and power easily to overcome him, since he is already weakened and wounded. By faith, doubtless, we shall overcome him: for by faith we are knit unto Christ, and by faith we draw the Spirit of Christ, by the force and virtue whereof we shall triumph. Truly for that cause St Peter willeth us "to resist by faith." St Paul, exhorting us unto this conflict, and furnishing us with excellent complete

Matt. iv.

1 John v.

1 Pet. v.

[1 prope paludem Gadarenam apud Gadaram, Lat. See above, p. 353, note 4.]

[2 Quid ipse diabolus? Ausus est vel unam oviculam tollere viro sancto Job, nisi prius diceret, Mitte manum tuam, hoc est, da potestatem? Ille volebat, sed ille non sinebat. Quando ille permisit, ille potuit: non ergo ille potuit, sed qui permisit. Ideo bene eruditus ipse Job non ait, sicut jam commemorare vobis solemus, Dominus dedit, et diabolus abstulit; sed, Dominus dedit, et Dominus abstulit.—August. Enarrat. pars 2. in Psal. xxxii. Opp. Tom. VII. fol. 46. col. 1.]

armour, saith: "Take unto you the whole armour of God, Ephes. vi.
that ye may be able to resist in the evil day, and, having finished all things, to stand fast. Stand therefore, having your loins girt about with the truth, and having on the breast-plate of righteousness, and your feet shod that you may be prepared to the gospel of peace; above all things taking the shield of faith, wherewith you may quench all the fiery darts of that wicked. And take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God, praying always in all prayers and supplication in the spirit[3]," &c. Whereunto that also belongeth, which the same apostle witnesseth: "God doth not suffer us to be tempted above that we 1 Cor. x.
are able to bear, but shall with the temptation make a way to escape." Let us therefore reverence this God; let us beseech him, that through his power and might we may overcome. Amen.

OF THE REASONABLE SOUL OF MAN; AND OF HIS MOST CERTAIN SALVATION AFTER THE DEATH OF HIS BODY.

THE TENTH SERMON.

All men do confess that the reasonable soul of man hath affinity or likeness with spirits; neither is there any wise man, as I think, which doth deny that the knowledge of the reasonable soul of man, whereof the scripture teacheth so many things, and that too so diligently, is most wholesome and necessary to all the godly. The order therefore, the profit, and the very necessity also of things[4] do require, that I speak somewhat likewise of the reasonable soul of man: wherein I will follow the plainness of the scripture and of the interpreters thereof, leaving physical or natural points unto them to be expounded unto whom it belongeth by duty and profession; saving that we will so far deal in them as we cannot want them in this discourse of ours. The holy scripture and the interpreters thereof neither move curious questions of the soul of man; neither do they satisfy curious heads, when they desire to know those things which cannot be declared,

[3 Erasmus' translation.]

[4 Rather, The order of things therefore, profit, and very necessity.]

or, if they could, yet it would always seem unto them that nothing were unto them more aptly spoken; for they always stagger, they are always learning and yet doubt, they never come to the knowledge of the truth with a quiet mind, they never abide in the plain truth when it is found, they search after other and many more and subtiler matters than they understand. But we know that all things which are necessary and for our salvation are simply and plainly delivered in the holy scriptures, and that we must simply, godlily, and religiously rest in them: therefore those things that are not delivered in them touching the matter of our salvation, we know that they are not to be sought after of us, and that they hinder not our salvation if we be ignorant of them.

The word *anima* (which we call soul) is diversely taken.

The word *anima*, which we call soul, is diversely taken in the holy scripture. First of all *anima*, the soul, is taken for every living thing; for Moses bringeth in the Lord speaking, "Let the earth bring forth living creature[1] after his kind, cattle, worm, and beast of the earth after his kind." For who knoweth not that there are reckoned three kinds or parts (give me leave so to speak for instruction's sake) or three principal powers of the soul? For there is the soul vegetative which worketh in plants; there is the soul sensitive, which is not without the soul vegetative, and it giveth life to brute beasts and other creatures endued with life and feeling[2]; there is also the reasonable soul wherewith men are endued, which is furnished with many powers or abilities, and comprehendeth both the other. Hereof *anima*, the soul, is taken in the scripture for breath which men draw in and let go again, and also for the life of man, or of a living creature. Thus we read, *Anima ejus* &c., "His life is in him:" and, "I will do thee no more harm (saith Saul to David), because (*anima mea*) my life was precious in thine eyes this day." The Grecians call *anima*, the soul, ψυχὴν, as it were ἀναψυχὴν, because by drawing breath it refresheth. The Hebricians call it *Næphæsch*, of comforting[3]. Again, *anima*, the soul, is taken in the scriptures for the thing itself that hath life, yea, even for any, or rather for the whole man. For it is said in the law: "The soul that worketh with a

Gen. i.

The soul is breath and life.

[Acts xx. 10.]

[1 Sam. xxvi. 21.]

Soul is taken for man.

Levit. xx.

[1 animam viventem, Lat.]

[2 and other—feeling, not in Lat.]

[3 a refocillando, Lat.]

spirit, or that is a soothsayer, shall die." Likewise in Paul we read: "Let every soul be subject to the higher power." Rom. xiii. And again, in Genesis, the king of Sodom saith to Abraham: "Give me the souls, and take the substance or goods to thyself." Gen. xiv. For the scripture is wont to name the whole by a part: for as by the soul he means the whole man, rehearsing the nobler part, so by flesh also he signifies the whole baser part. Moreover since man and also other living creatures Soul a desire. have an appetitive or desiring soul, soul is used in the scripture for affection, will, desire, or lust. For Ezekiel saith, "They Ezek. vii. shall not satisfy their souls" (in Dutch, *Sy werden iren glust nit bussen*), "neither shall their bellies be filled." Lastly, *anima*, Soul is the spirit of man. the soul, signifieth the reasonable soul of man: whereof we will entreat (God assisting) at this present. Yet here I cannot dissemble, that among very famous writers there is controversy *de anima, et animo*, about the soul and the mind, whether they are one and the selfsame, or diverse; and that there are reasons on both sides. They that make a difference between The soul and mind. them say, that by the soul we live, and that with the mind we understand: which thing Lactantius saith in his 18th chapter *de Opificio Dei*[4]. I know that all the best and most approved writers use them both indifferently, and take the one for the other.

For we must not think that there are two souls in man. That there is but one soul. For very well have the school definitions[5] defined, uttering these words in the fifteenth chapter: "We do not say that there are two souls in one man, as Jacobus and certain of the Syrians write; one natural, whereby the body hath life, and is mingled with blood; the other spiritual, which ministereth reason: but we say there is one and the selfsame soul in man, which both quickeneth the body with his fellowship, and ordereth himself by his own reason[6]." Therefore we do not That there is a soul.

[4 Sequitur alia et ipsa inextricabilis quæstio: Idemne sit anima et animus; an vero aliud sit illud quo vivimus, aliud autem quo sentimus et sapimus.—Lactant. de Opif. Dei. cap. 18.]

[5 definitiones ecclesiasticæ, Lat.]

[6 Neque duas animas esse dicimus in uno homine, sicut Jacobus et alii Syrorum scribunt; unam animalem, qua animetur corpus et immixta sit sanguini, et alteram spiritalem, quæ rationem ministret: sed dicimus unam esse eandemque animam in homine, quæ et corpus sua societate vivificet, et semetipsam sua ratione disponat.—August. de Eccles. dogm. cap. 15. Opp. Tom. III. fol. 42. col. 4.]

think that there is any consideration to be had of them which altogether deny that there is a soul; for these are as mad as they which deny that the sun shineth. For all of us do see and feel the sun: as also we live by the benefit of the soul.

What the soul is.

Furthermore, what the reasonable soul of man is, the wise heads of this world could not as yet with one agreement define. For they so differ that a man shall hardly find two which say one thing; and there are opinions not a few contrary between themselves. What, do not the old interpreters of the scriptures doubtingly proceed in defining the soul? Lactantius, in his book *de Opificio Dei*, denieth that man can attain to the reason and nature of the soul[1]. Therefore nothing at all did they err from the truth, which thought the soul could be comprehended in no absolute definition, wherein his nature might be expressed throughly and at the full; yet that the nature or disposition of the same might after a sort be shadowed out, and that by the works or actions thereof, and by such qualities as the scripture doth attribute. There are some therefore which have said, that the soul is the spirit of life, created after the image of God, and breathed into the body of man. One there is which describes it thus: The soul is a spirit, whereby the body to which it is coupled doth live, made apt to the knowledge of God through love, and hereby meet to be joined with him unto everlasting blessedness. Another defineth it after this sort: A reasonable soul is an understanding spirit, one part of the substance of man; neither dieth it when it is departed from the body, but is immortal. Cassiodore defineth it: The soul of man is created of God, a spiritual and peculiar substance, which quickeneth the body whose own it is, reasonable indeed and immortal[2]. We will set down a description fetched from the scripture, to be weighed and considered upon of the godly, and to direct and rule this our whole discourse. The soul is a spiritual substance, poured of God into man's body, that, being joined thereunto,

[1 Quid autem sit anima, nondum inter philosophos convenit, nec unquam fortasse conveniet. Etenim alii sanguinem esse dixerunt, alii ignem, alii ventum, &c.—Lactant. de Opif. Dei. cap. 17.]

[2 Anima hominis est a Deo creata, spiritalis propriaque substantia, sui corporis vivificatrix, rationabilis quidem et immortalis.—Cassiodor. Opp. de Anima. p. 286. Par. 1579.]

it might quicken and direct the same; but being dissevered from the body, it should not die but live immortal for ever.

That souls are substances.

Some deny that the soul is a substance; for they contend that it is nothing else than the power of life in man, and indeed[3] a certain quality. But the holy scripture acknowledgeth that the soul is a subtance subsisting; for the Lord in the gospel witnesseth, that a soul may be tormented in hell: which forthwith by the selfsame authority of the gospel is shewed as it were to be viewed with our eyes, in the soul of the rich glutton. The same Lord which cannot lie said to the thief, "To day shalt thou be with me in Paradise:" which words cannot be expounded of any other part in the thief than of the soul; for his body was nailed, and did hang on the cross. Whereupon also the apostle and evangelist saw "under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the word of God." He heard them "crying with a loud voice, and saying: How long tarriest thou, Lord, which art holy and true, to judge, and to avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?" The same John saw long white garments given to every one of the souls, these words being therewithal spoken of the Lord: "Rest yet for a little season, until your fellow-servants, and your brethren that shall be killed as ye are, shall be fulfilled." All which verily agree not to qualities, but to substances which have their being: therefore the souls of men are substances. Which thing that they might most plainly and pithily express, certain ecclesiastical writers, I think, have set down that the souls of men are bodily, that is, substances of their kind, having their proper being. Neither do I think, dearly beloved, I shall be tedious unto you, if I recite word for word that which St Augustine hath reasoned of this matter on both parts in his epistle to St Hierome, which is in order the twenty-eighth, saying: "That the soul is bodiless, though it be hard to persuade it to the duller sort, yet I confess that I am so persuaded. But that I may not move controversy about a word to no purpose, I will willingly be silent; because where there is no doubt of the thing, there is no need to strive about the name. If every substance or essence be a body, or if that which after some sort is in itself is more aptly called something, then the soul is a body. But if you

Luke xxiii.

Rev. vi.

[3 adeoque, Lat.; and so.]

will call that only a bodiless nature, which is altogether unchangeable and is wholly everywhere, then the soul is a body, because the soul is no some such thing. Furthermore, if nothing be a body but that which with some length, breadth, and height resteth, or is moved in space of place, that the greater part thereof taketh the greater room and the lesser part the lesser room, and be less in part than in the whole, then the soul is not a body. For that which giveth the power of life unto the body is stretched through the whole body, not by local spreading of itself, but by a certain lively extending of itself. For the whole soul is present in all and every part of the body at once, and not lesser in the lesser parts nor greater in the greater parts; but in some places more vehement and quick, in some more remiss and faint, and in all it is the whole and in every part the whole. For that whole soul which in some parts of the body feeleth not, in some other parts where it feeleth it doth wholly feel in itself, and not only in some part of itself. For where any part of the quick flesh is pricked with a sharp thing, although that place be not only not of the whole body, no, not so much almost as seen in the body, yet the whole soul feeleth that pricking; and yet is not that pain that is felt dispersed over all the parts of the body, but is only felt where it is. How then cometh that by and by to the whole soul, which is not felt but in one place of the body, but because that the whole soul is there where the smart is felt, and yet leaveth not the other parts of the body that it might be there wholly and all in all? For those parts of the body live also by the presence of the soul, where no such thing is done. If it were so that the grief were in more places than one at once, it should be felt by the whole soul in each place. Therefore the whole soul could not be both in all and in every part of the body, whose own it is, all at once, if it were so spread through those parts as we see bodies are by spaces of places, their lesser parts taking the lesser room and their greater parts the greater room. Wherefore if the soul be to be termed a body, surely it is not such a body as is in substance like the earth, or like the water, or the air, or the celestial bodies. For all such bodies are greater in greater places and lesser in lesser places, and nothing of them is wholly in any some part of theirs; but as the parts of the

places be, so are they filled with the parts of the bodies. Whereupon the soul is perceived, whether it be a body or whether it is to be called bodiless, to have a certain proper nature, created of a more excellent substance than all the elements of the earthly mould: which cannot be conceived by any phantasy or imagination of bodily shapes which we attain unto by the senses of our flesh, but is understood in the mind and felt in the life[1]." Thus far have I rehearsed Augustine's words.

[1 Incorpoream quoque esse animam, etsi difficile tardioribus persuaderi potest, mihi tamen fateor esse persuasum. Sed ne verbi controversiam vel superfluo faciam, vel merito patiar; quoniam cum de re constat, non est opus certare de nomine: si corpus est omnis substantia vel essentia, vel si quid aptius nuncupatur id quod aliquo modo est in seipso, corpus est anima. Item si eam solam incorpoream placet appellare naturam, quæ summe incommutabilis et ubique tota est, corpus est anima, quoniam tale aliquid ipsa non est. Porro si corpus non est, nisi quod per loci spatium aliqua longitudine, latitudine, altitudine ita sistitur vel movetur, ut majori sui parte majorem locum occupet et breviore breviorem, minusque sit in parte quam in toto, non est corpus anima: per totum quippe corpus quod animat, non locali diffusione, sed quadam vitali intentione porrigitur. Nam per omnes ejus particulas tota simul adest, nec minor in minoribus et in majoribus major, sed alicubi intensius, alicubi remissius, et in omnibus tota et in singulis tota est. Neque enim aliter quod in corpore etiam non toto sentit, tamen tota sentit. Nam cum exiguo puncto in carne viva aliquid tangitur, quamvis locus ille non solum totius corporis non sit, sed vix in corpore videatur, animam tamen totam non latet; neque id quod sentitur per corporis cuncta discurrit, sed ibi tamen sentitur ubi fit. Unde ergo ad totam mox pervenit, quod non in toto fit, nisi quia et ibi tota est ubi fit, nec ut tota ibi sit cetera deserit? Vivunt enim et illa ea præsente ubi nihil tale factum est. Quod si fieret, et utrumque simul fieret, simul utrumque totam pariter non lateret. Proinde et in omnibus simul et in singulis particulis corporis sui tota simul esse non posset, si per illas ita diffunderetur, ut videmus corpora diffusa per spatia locorum minoribus suis partibus minora occupare et amplioribus ampliora. Quapropter si anima corpus esse dicenda est, non est certe corpus, quale terrenum est, nec quale humidum aut aëreum aut æthereum. Omnia quippe talia majora sunt in majoribus locis et minora in minoribus locis, et nihil eorum in aliqua sui parte totum adest, sed ut sunt partes locorum, ita occupantur partibus corporum. Unde intelligitur anima, sive corpus sive incorporea dicenda est, propriam quandam habere naturam, omnibus his mundanæ molis elementis excellentiore substantia creatam; quæ veraciter non possit in aliqua fantasia corporalium imaginum, quas per carnis sensus per-

The soul is bodiless, or a spirit.

The scripture also aimeth chiefly at this mark[1], to teach that the soul is bodiless; for advisedly and expressly it calleth the same a spirit. For the Lord in the gospel after

John x. John saith: "I will put my life from me, and I will take it again. No man taketh it from me, but I put it away of

John xix. myself." And in the same evangelist you read: "And Jesus said, It is finished: and when he had bowed his head, he gave up the ghost." For he crieth out in another evangelist:

Luke xxiii. "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit." And Matthew

Matt. xxvii. saith: "And Jesus, when he had cried again with a loud voice, yielded up the ghost." Whereunto doubtless may be referred that which we read in the Acts of the Apostles of

Acts vii. the first martyr, Stephen: "And they stoned Stephen, calling on and saying, Lord Jesu, receive my spirit." But

What manner of substance the soul of man is.

by these things I cannot more plainly and pithily express[2] what manner of substance the soul of man is, which I believe to be a spirit, having indeed a substance created of God proper and peculiar to itself. For Augustine, whose words I alleged a little before, saith yet again, 1 cap. *de Quantitate Animæ:* "I cannot name the substance of the soul, for I do not think the same to be of these usual and known natures which we touch with the senses of our body. For I think that the soul consisteth not of earth, nor of water, nor of air, nor of fire, neither yet of all these joined together, nor of any one of them. The nature of the soul may be called simple, because it consisteth not of other natures[3]." Which words of Augustine Cassiodore willing to rehearse and express by imitation saith: "The soul of man created of God is a spiritual and peculiar substance[4]." Therefore I simply affirm

cipimus, cogitari, sed mente intelligi vitaque sentiri.—August. Ep. 28. Hieronymo de Natura et Origine Animarum. Opp. Tom. II. fol. 19. col. 4. Par. 1532.]

[1 huc maxime inclinat, Lat.]

[2 His vero significantius, Lat.; more expressively than these texts.]

[3 Substantiam vero ejus (animæ) nominare non possum: non enim eam puto esse ex iis usitatis notisque naturis quas istis corporis sensibus tangimus. Nam neque ex terra, neque ex aqua, neque ex aëre, neque ex igni, neque ex his omnibus, neque ex aliquibus horum conjunctis constare animam puto .... Simplex animæ natura dici potest, quia ex aliis naturis non est.—August. de Quant. Animæ. Opp. Tom. I. fol. 122. col. 4.]

[4 See above, p. 368, n. 2.]

that the soul hath a singular, yea, a certain more excellent substance, and differing from other spirits, having his true being and working always from his Creator[5]; but such as we in our speech cannot compass, neither are able to utter.

The soul is neither God nor part of God.

In the meanwhile we do not allow of them who, minding to express what manner of substance the soul is, say that the soul is God, or else surely a part or portion of God[6]. For the scripture reproveth them both. For truly the soul is a creature, and is drowned in variableness and sins: but a creator, and clean of itself, it is not. And because God the Creator is immutable and indivisible, the soul cannot be a portion of God. Therefore elegantly and truly Aurelius Prudentius in his *Apotheosis*, after he had in many words confuted these filthy errors, gathering at length all the meaning of the truth, saith:

> To say the soul is GOD, or part of him,
> 'Tis folly great, and too absurd a thing:
> Since chief and heavenly joys it tastes, which swim
> From always fresh and everlasting spring.
> Now it obeys, anon it falls to sin;
> One while in joy, another while in pain:
> For due desert such guerdon it doth win:
> Now punish'd 'tis, anon 'tis free again[7].

To the end that we might overthrow this error, and discern the soul from other spirits and spiritual substances, we added in our description; "That the soul of man is poured into the body of man by God:" whereby every man understandeth without any ado, that it is created, and also is a spirit, not angelical, but human, that is, breathed into man's body by God, of his own essence and nature.

Of the original of the soul.

Where again a new question touching the original of souls doth offer itself to us to be expounded. For it is wont to be asked, from whence souls come? When or how they enter into their bodies? St Hierome is the author, that in

[5 a creatione sua, Lat.; from its creation.]

[6 Manichæorum, delirio—quod rursus hac ætate invehere tentavit Servetus.—Calv. Instit. Lib. I. cap. 15. § 5.]

[7 Absurde fertur Deus aut pars esse Dei; quæ
Divinum summumque bonum de fonte perenni
Nunc bibit obsequio, nunc culpa aut crimine perdit;
Et modo supplicium recipit, modo libera calcat.
Prudent. Apoth. 952—955.]

time past there were many opinions, and those same most contrary between themselves, touching the original of souls. For he, writing to Marcellinus and Anapsychias, saith: "I remember your question, nay rather forsooth, the question of the church, touching the state of the soul: whether it fell from heaven, as Pythagoras the philosopher, and all Platonists and Origen do think: or whether it be of the proper substance of God, as the Stoics, Manicheus, and the heresies of Priscillianus of Spain do suppose: whether they be counted in God's treasury, long since laid up there, as certain churchmen foolishly persuaded think: whether they be daily made of God and sent into bodies, according to that which is written in the gospel, "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work:" or whether, *ex traduce*, that is, by the generation of the parents, as Tertullian, Apollinarius, and the greatest part of the west churches conjecture; that as a body is born of a body, so a soul is born of a soul, and hath his being after the like state as brute beasts have[1]." But all those opinions are confuted of ecclesiastical writers with sound arguments. That opinion is received and avouched for the truest which holdeth, That the soul is created of nothing, and poured of God into the body, when the child is made perfect in shape and in every part of his body in the womb of his mother. For thus the ecclesiastical definitions do declare: "We say that the Creator of all things doth only know the creation of the soul; and that the body only is sowed by (carnal) copulation in marriage; that by the true appointment of God it thickeneth in the matrice, becometh a substance and receiveth shape; and that when the body is

[1 Super animæ statu memini vestræ quæstiunculæ; imo maxime ecclesiasticæ quæstionis: Utrum lapsa de cœlo sit, ut Pythagoras philosophus, omnesque Platonici et Origines putant; an a propria Dei substantia, ut Stoici, Manichæus, et Hispana Priscilliani hæresis suspicantur; an in thesauro habeantur Dei, olim conditæ, ut quidem ecclesiastici stulta persuasione confidunt; an quotidie a Deo fiant, et mittantur in corpora, secundum illud quod evangelio scriptum est, Pater meus usque modo operatur, et ego operor; an certe ex traduce, ut Tertullianus, Apollinaris, et maxima pars Occidentalium autumant; ut quomodo corpus ex corpore, sic anima nascatur ex anima, et simili cum brutis animantibus conditione subsistat.—Hieron. Epist. 78. (al. 82.) ad Marcellin. et Anapsych. Opp. Tom. IV. Pars 2. col. 642. Par. 1706.]

fashioned, the soul is created and poured into it[2]." Whereupon St Hierome also to Pammachius, disputing against the errors of John, bishop of Hierusalem, after he had rehearsed divers opinions touching the original of the soul, he saith: "Whether truly God createth souls daily, in whom his will is his work, and never ceaseth to be a creator of them? Which is an ecclesiastical opinion, according to the opinion of our Saviour, The Father worketh hitherto, and I work; and according to that of Esay, Which formeth the spirit of man in him; and in the Psalms, Which fashioneth their hearts in every one of them[3]." Thus far he.

The scripture truly in express words doth teach, that the soul hath not original out of earth, neither that it is created before the body; but it proceedeth out of the mouth of the Creator, to wit, from the secret power of God, and that it is poured into the body when it is fashioned. For Moses, describing the creation of God our Father[4], doth first make mention, that the body of Adam was fashioned and made, and that afterwards the spirit of life was breathed into his body being perfectly made and fashioned. "The Lord God," saith he, [Gen. ii. 7.] "made man of the clay of the earth, and breathed upon his face or into his nostrils the breath of life, and man was made a living soul." For the breath of life doth signify the living and reasonable soul, that is to say, the soul of man, which thou seest breathed or poured into the body when it is fashioned. And when the same Lord created the woman of Adam's rib, he took not life from Adam, or out of his soul, and put it into Eve, but of his goodness and power he poured the same into her body when it was perfectly made. And

[2 Sed dicimus creationem animæ solum creatorem omnium nosse, et corpus tantum per conjugii copulam seminari, Dei vero judicio coagulari in vulva et compingi atque formari, ac formato jam corpore animam creari et infundi.—August. de Eccles. Dogm. Opp. Tom. III. fol. 42. coll. 3. 4. Par. 1532.]

[3 An certe (quod ecclesiasticum est secundum eloquia Salvatoris, Pater usque modo operatur, et ego operor; et illud Isaiæ, Qui format spiritum hominis in ipso; et in Psalmis, Qui fingit per singulos corda eorum;) quotidie Deus fabricatur animas: cujus velle fecisse est, et conditor esse non cessat?—Hieron. ad Pammach. adv. error. Johan. Jeros. Ep. 38. Opp. Tom. IV. Pars 2. fol. 318.]

[4 Formationem patris nostri, Lat.; rather, the creation of our father, i. e. Adam.—God, is the translator's addition.]

that we are no otherwise created of the Lord at this day, than that the soul may be poured into the body when it is fashioned, Job is a witness sufficient, saying: "Thy hands, O God, have made me and fashioned me round about. Hast thou not poured me as it were milk, and turned me to curds like cheese? Thou hast covered me with skin and flesh, and joined me together with bones and sinews." Lo, thou hast here in these words both the conception and also the fashioning of man's body in his mother's womb most excellently described. And touching the soul, it followeth in Job immediately: "Thou hast given me life and grace, and thy visitation hath preserved my spirit." Behold, "life," that is, the soul, is by God poured into the body after it is shapen. "Thou hast given me life," saith he, "and grace." He addeth grace or mercy to life: for it is a marvel the child should live in the mother's womb, seeing it is wrapped within so many coverings; therefore a singular benefit of the mercy of God sheweth itself in this. But it followeth by way of interpretation: "And thy visitation," that is, thy providence and preservation, "hath kept or preserved my spirit." For now he calleth that "spirit," which first he had called "life;" that is to say, the soul. Wherefore we rightly hold and according to the scriptures, that the souls of men are created of God, and poured into the bodies when they be already fashioned in the womb; though we touch not every point and particular matter of this cause, and (as the saying is) hit the nail on the head.

Job x.

The operations and powers of the soul.

Now it resteth to see what the soul worketh in the body of man. We comprehended that briefly in the description, saying that, being joined to the body, it giveth life to man and directeth him. For the reasonable soul comprehendeth the powers vegetative and sensitive, and thereby it giveth life to the body. Moreover the soul hath two parts, distinguished in offices, not in substance; namely, Understanding and Will; and thereby it directeth man. For by the understanding, which is called both the mind and reason, it conceiveth, judgeth, and knoweth things that are to be understood, and discerneth what to follow and what to avoid. But by will or appetite he chooseth that which he knoweth, following one thing and refusing another. Which things again stretch very far. Therefore I will handle every part more largely.

First of all "the soul by his presence giveth life to this mortal and earthly body; it knitteth it together, and with a wonderful embracing keepeth it, and suffereth it not to grow out of order or pine away; it equally distributeth the food throughout the members, giving to every one sufficient; it preserveth a comely form and measure therein not only in beauty, but also in making and growth. But all these things may seem also common to plants, as well as to man: for we see and confess, that they also live; and that every one of them is preserved in his kind, nourished, increased, and engendered. Therefore let us see what the soul is able to do, and what it worketh in the senses, where a more perfect view of life is perceived. The soul sheweth itself in the sense of feeling, and thereby knoweth and discerneth the things that are hot, cold, rough, smooth, hard, soft, light, and heavy. Moreover, the soul determineth the innumerable differences of tastes, savours, sounds, and shapes, by the senses of tasting, smelling, hearing, and seeing. And among all these things it chooseth and coveteth those things which are according to the nature of the body whereunto it is joined, and refuseth and shunneth the contrary; and also consenteth not only to the procreation of children, but to the cherishing, defending, nourishing, and preserving of them. But all these things again no man denieth but the life which is in beasts may do also. Let us therefore consider what is the proper force of the soul of man. And here weigh with me the wonderful power of understanding and reasoning, and not a common memory as is in brute beasts, but a remembrance of innumerable things commended unto us, and kept in mind by signs and deep consideration: consider with me so many devices of craftsmen, tilling of lands, building of cities, manifold wonderfulness of sundry buildings and devices; the inventions of so many forms in letters, in words, in gesture, in sound, in pictures, and feigned shews; so many tongues of nations, so many things ordained, so many new things, so many things reformed; such a number of books, and of such like monuments for the maintenance of memory, as having a care of them which come after; the orders of offices, powers, honours and dignities, either in families, or in the common weal in peace or in war, either in profane or in holy matters. Weigh with me the marvellous force and virtue of devising

Out of the 13 cap. of August. *de Quantitate Animæ.*

the rivers of eloquence, the variety of verses in poetry, a thousand-fold devices and merriments to move pleasure and pastime, skilfulness in playing on instruments and in singing, cunning in measuring, readiness in numbering, conjecturing of things past and things to come by things present[1]."

These verily are great powers or operations in the soul of man, but they are common to the good and bad. Therefore the true goodness and praise, which riseth from the powers of the soul unto man, and which are found in the godly only, do follow. The soul is bold to prefer itself before the whole body, and to think that the goods of the body are not his, but rather to despise them; and thereby how much the more he delighteth himself, so much the more he withdraweth himself from filthiness, and cleanseth himself

[1 Corpus hoc terrenum atque mortale præsentia sua vivificat (anima), colligit in unum atque in uno tenet; diffluere atque contabescere non sinit; alimenta per membra æqualiter, suis quibusque redditis, distribui facit; congruentiam ejus modumque conservat, non tantum in pulchritudine, sed etiam in crescendo atque gignendo. Sed hæc omnia homini etiam cum arbustis communia videri queunt: hæc enim etiam dicimus vivere, in suo vero quidque illorum genere custodiri, ali, crescere, gignere videmus atque fatemur... Intendit se anima in tactum, et eo calida, frigida, aspera, lenia, dura, mollia, levia, gravia, sentit atque discernit. Deinde innumerabiles differentias saporum, odorum, sonorum, formarum, gustando, olfaciendo, audiendo, videndoque dijudicat. Atque in his omnibus ea quæ secundum naturam sui corporis sunt asciscit atque appetit, rejicit fugitque contraria:... fœtibus quoque non jam gignendis tantummodo, sed etiam fovendis, alendis, atque conservandis conspirat... Sed hæc rursus omnia posse animam etiam in bestiis nemo negat... Cogita memoriam non consuetudine inolitarum, sed animadversione atque signis commendatarum ac retentarum rerum innumerabilium; tot artes opificum, agrorum cultus, extructiones urbium, variorum ædificiorum ac moliminum multimoda miracula; inventiones tot signorum in literis, in verbis, in gestu, in hujuscemodi sono, in picturis atque figmentis; tot gentium linguas, tot instituta, tot nova, tot instaurata, tantum librorum numerum et hujusmodi monumentorum ad custodiendam memoriam, tanquam curam posteritatis; officiorum, potestatum, honorum, dignitatumque ordines, sive in familiis, sive domi militiæque in republica, sive in prophanis, sive in sacris apparatibus; vim ratiocinandi et excogitandi fluvios eloquentiæ, carminum varietates, ludendi ac jocandi causa milleformes simulationes, modulandi peritiam, dimetiendi subtilitatem, numerandi disciplinam, præteritorum ac futurorum ex præsentibus conjecturam.—August. de Quant. Animæ. cap. 33. Opp. Tom. I. fol. 130. coll. 1, 2. Par. 1532.]

wholly by faith and the Holy Ghost, and strengtheneth himself against all things which go about to put him by from his good intent, and maketh great account of fellowship or society, loveth men tenderly, and willeth nothing to another which he would not have happen to himself. For he followeth the word or doctrine of God, and believeth that by this God speaketh unto him: he is joined by the Holy Ghost and faith with God himself, in whom he delighteth and liveth in true felicity, bringing forth all kind of virtues. In this so excellent a study of the soul there is yet great labour. For the soul fighteth fiercely with the world and the flesh, and is never safe and at rest from the assaults or invasions of Satan: but being strengthened by the Lord, he goeth away with notable victories and triumphs. The souls therefore (I mean, of saints and holy men) work all manner of holy works; for the souls of the wicked commit heinous sins of all sorts. There are many other operations of souls, which I cease to rehearse, lest I should be longer than were meet.

Hitherto I have entreated of the soul of man as yet joined to the body: in which discourse the wonderful goodness of God appeareth, the most bountiful Creator of the soul, yea, of the whole man; from whose grace we worthily account it received, whatsoever praise is given to the soul. Now I will speak of the soul separated from the body.

Of the soul separated from the body.

The soul, being separated from the body, ceaseth not to be that which it was; but, the body being dead, the soul abideth alive in his own essence, altogether immortal, and void of all corruption. For the death of man is not the extinguishing or destruction of the soul, but only a separation or departure from the body. Thou takest a candle out of a lantern; thou hast taken the light from the lantern, but thou hast not put out the candle. The lantern truly, because the candle is taken away, remaineth full of darkness; but the candle feeleth so little hurt by removing of it, that, being taken away from the lantern, it then shineth more clearly, and casteth forth the beams of his light more at large. So truly the soul, being separated from his earthly or slimy body, doth so little feel any discommodity, that, being delivered from the trouble and burden of the body, it liveth more at liberty, and worketh more effectually. But the common sort understand not this. They see the body only

The soul is immortal.

among the dead, spoiled of the soul; and because this wanteth all feeling and moving, yea, and rotteth away, they think that the whole man perisheth. Neither is the world without some shameless and ungodly wretches who have in their mouth, that no man ever returned from death or from below, who by his return proved that the souls remain alive when the body is dead. But maliciously they lie, dissembling that they know not that which certainly they know. For who knoweth not that Christ the Son of God died, and was buried, and the third day was raised again from the dead, the very self-same soul returning into his body, which before death gave his body life and ruled it? Who knoweth not that Christ with his true body and with his reasonable and natural[1] soul ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father, that he, laying down there as it were a most assured pledge, might testify unto the whole world that both our own proper souls and our own proper bodies shall one day be translated thither? Who knoweth not that so many which were dead, being raised from death to life, received not new souls, but those their old souls? Which should not have come to pass, if by the death of the body the souls of men were extinguished.

Of the death of souls.

They object, that the scripture itself maketh mention of the death of the soul. I confess no less indeed. For the soul of man is both mortal and immortal, after a certain manner of his own. For the soul is not all manner of ways immortal as God is, of whom it is said that he only hath immortality. And truly the death of the soul in the holy scripture is to be remembered; but the same is referred to the state and condition, not to the substance, of the soul. For if God be the life of the soul, surely to be forsaken of God, and to be left unto thyself, is the death of the soul. But nevertheless the reasonable soul liveth in his proper essence or being, so that, when it liveth miserably, a miserable life is in very deed called death. But desperation also is the very death of the soul; for by hope we live: and Paul saith, "I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me; and the life which I now live in the flesh, I live by the faith of the Son of God." Therefore they that are destitute of faith are dead, and they that have faith live. St Augustine, cap. 10, *De Fide et Symbolo*, saith:

1 Tim. i. & vi.

Gal. ii.

[1 genuina, Lat.]

"The soul, as it may be called corruptible by reason of sin and wickedness, so it may be called mortal. For the death of the soul is the revolting or falling from God; which first sin of the soul was committed in paradise, as is declared in the holy scriptures[2]." And the same Augustine again, Lib. *de Trinitate*, 14, cap. 4, saith: "The soul also hath his death, when it lacketh a blessed life, which is to be named the true life of the soul. But for this cause it is called immortal, for that, whatsoever life it liveth, yea, though it be most miserable, yet it never ceaseth to live[3]." We therefore freely confess, that the souls of men, separated or taken out of their bodies, do not die, but live immortal for ever; the faithful in everlasting joy and felicity, but the unbelievers in eternal damnation.

Testimonies of the immortality of souls.

Which thing I will now go on to confirm by some substantial testimonies of scripture. But first take this with you, that testimonies of scripture in this case are far more lively than man's reasons framed out of philosophy. For these testimonies are fetched from the very mouth of the living God himself, which preserveth us in life; who, since he is true, cannot lie, and who, since he giveth life and is life itself, is able to witness most certainly above all other touching life. Neither is it doubtful that the Spirit of God worketh jointly with the word of God; of whom unless the hearts of men be touched, the reasons of philosophy, how manifest soever they be, shall prevail nothing, especially in the danger of death and in other temptations. They are fleshly therefore and brutish altogether, which are not ashamed to say, That they cannot be persuaded or brought to believe the immortality of souls by the scriptures only. Nay, which is more; that shall never be stedfast and stable in temptations, which shall proceed from flesh and blood. We will therefore add some certain testimonies, and those too most manifest.

David, the most puissant and happiest king in the world,

[2 Potest enim et anima, sicut corruptibilis propter morum vitia, ita etiam mortalis dici. Mors quippe animæ est apostatare a Deo, quod primum ejus peccatum in paradiso sacris literis continetur.—August. de Fide et Symb. cap. 10. Opp. Tom. III. fol. 32. col. 3. Par. 1532.—Works of Coverdale, ed. P. S. Remains, p. 201.]

[3 Habet quippe et anima mortem suam, cum vita beata caret, quæ vera animæ vita dicenda est. Sed immortalis ideo nuncupatur, quoniam qualicunque vita, etiam si miserrima est, nunquam desinit vivere.—Id. de Trin. Lib. XIV. cap. 4. Opp. Tom. III. fol. 91. col. 2.]

comprising in one verse both the immortality of souls and
Psal. xvi. the resurrection of bodies, saith: "Thou, O Lord, shalt not leave my soul in hell: neither shalt thou suffer thine Holy one to see corruption." Man consisteth of body and soul. The body rotteth away when it is dead, and is turned into dust; but it shall not therefore perish: for as the body of Christ which was buried did not rot, but rose again the third day; so in the day of judgment shall our bodies be raised up, and by Christ be delivered from corruption. And our soul goeth not into hell there to remain[1]: but as the soul of Christ returned from the nether parts unto his body, and ascended into heaven in his body which he had taken again; even so shall our souls also live by Christ, they shall not die.

Salomon, the son of David, excelling all kings and mortal men in wisdom, in one verse likewise expounding the provi-
Eccles. xii. dence of God touching the soul and the body, saith: "The dust shall be turned again unto earth, from whence it came; and the spirit shall return unto God, who gave it." Salomon calleth man's body dust, because it is said in Moses that God made it of the dust of the earth. Therefore the body turneth again unto dust; for it putrefieth and is resolved into that which first it was, even until the judgment-day, as the Lord
Gen. iii. saith: "For dust thou art, and into dust shalt thou be turned again." But the spirit, that is to say, the reasonable soul, dieth not with the body: it is not resolved into dust, because it is not taken out of the dust; neither is it scattered into the air, because it doth not consist of air; but returneth alive from death unto God. And therefore it returneth unto God, because God gave the soul, and after a singular manner made man after his own likeness and image, breathing into his face the spirit of life,—of life I say, that is, of lively power, not the spirit of death. Therefore the soul cannot perish, because it receiveth immortality from God; who, since he is life, is able to preserve that breath of life which he hath made.

The Lord Jesus, the true and very Son of God, the life and resurrection of the faithful, saith plainly in the gospel:
Matt. x. "Fear (ye) not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul; but rather fear him which is able to destroy

[1 there to remain; not in Lat.]

both body and soul in hell." If when the body being slain by tyrants the soul is not killed, then it remaineth alive after the body is destroyed; and so assuredly it remaineth, that, having put off the body, it should be cast of the most just God into hell, there everlastingly to burn for his unfaithfulness. For in the same gospel the Lord saith again, "Whosoever will save his life shall lose it:" again, "whosoever will lose his life for my sake, shall find it." For not he only loseth his life or soul, which bridleth it from the pleasures of the world and liveth most temperately; but he also who offereth himself into the bloody hands of tyrants to be slain for the confession of christian faith. And he findeth his life or soul which he lost. Therefore the souls of men, even after the death of the body, remain alive and immortal. Matt. xv.

In the gospel according to St John the Lord saith: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that heareth my word, and believeth on him that sent me, hath everlasting life, and shall not come into judgment; but is escaped from death unto life." Thou hast in these words of the Lord the death of the body. But forthwith afterward he witnesseth, that we "escape unto life:" therefore men's souls remain alive after death. For now he speaketh nothing of the raising again or of the salvation of the body, but of the life of the soul after death. In the same gospel the Lord saith again: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, If a man keep my saying, he shall never see death." But it is evident that all men are ordained once to die, namely, with bodily death: therefore the soul liveth after the death of the body. For it must needs be that a faithful man shall never see or feel death, unless he told a lie who affirmeth with an oath that which he spake. For in every other place[2] he addeth an oath, saying, "Verily, I say unto you;" that we should not doubt of the immortality of souls. There are very many testimonies, and those most evident, of Christ the Son of God in the same gospel, as in the sixth and eleventh chapters: to which we will join one or two out of the writings of the blessed apostles of Christ. John v. John viii. Heb. ix.

St Peter, speaking of the souls of the fathers which were dead a great while ago, saith, that "the gospel was preached also to the dead, that they should be judged like other men 1 Pet. iv.

[2 utrobique; Lat. in both places.]

in the flesh, but should live before God[1] in the spirit." Spirits are souls of the blessed fathers, whose bodies being buried a great while ago do wait for the universal sentence of that general and last judgment: that is, that their flesh may be raised up again and be judged with other men in the last day; but in the meanwhile their souls live with God. So that men's souls are alive, though their bodies were rotten a great while ago.

2 Tim. i. St Paul in his epistle to Timothy saith, that life and immortality is made manifest and brought by Christ[2]. The same Paul everywhere doth so plainly avouch the immortality of souls, that he must needs be blind which seeth it not.

Rev. vi. St John, the apostle and evangelist, saw under the altar in heaven (that is, under the protection of Christ who is the sacrifice and propitiation for the sins of the world) living souls lying and crying: "How long tarriest thou, Lord, to revenge our blood?" He saw them clothed with white garments, and enjoying everlasting rest. But these souls were the souls of the martyrs of Christ, whose bodies died, being murdered on the earth under tyrants and persecutors of the christian faith. Therefore the souls of men are immortal.

Wisd. ii. Most true therefore, yea, and undoubted, are those words which are read in the book of Wisdom, uttered in this manner: "The souls of the righteous are in the hand of God, and there shall no torment touch them. In the sight of the unwise they appeared to die, and their end is taken for a misery, and their departing from us to be utter destruction; but they are in rest. For though they suffer pain before men, yet is their hope full of immortality. They are punished but in few things; nevertheless in many things shall they be well rewarded. For God proveth them, and findeth them meet for himself. As gold in the furnace doth he try them, and receiveth them as a burnt-offering: and when the time cometh, they shall be looked upon. They shall shine and run through, as the sparkles among the stubble. They shall judge the nations, and have dominion over the people, and their Lord shall reign for ever."

Wherefore most truly and according to the canonical

[1 juxta Deum; Lat. and Erasmus.]

[2 manifeste vitam et immortalitatem per Christum esse reparatam; Lat.]

scripture do the ecclesiastical definitions pronounce, cap. 16: "We believe that man only hath a substantial soul, which, having put off the body, liveth and keepeth his senses and disposition lively. It doth not die with the body, as Aratus affirmeth; nor a little while after, as Zenon saith; because it liveth substantially. But the souls of beasts and other mortal creatures are not substantial, but are born with their flesh through the life of their flesh, and with the death of their flesh are at an end and do die[3]."

All wise men have thought that souls are immortal.

Furthermore, that truth touching the immortality of souls, as it were by the law of nature, is written and imprinted in the minds of all men. Whereupon it is no marvel that all the wise men among the Gentiles could never abide that the soul should be called mortal. For the consent of all, which is thought the voice of nature, specially of the chiefest, declareth that souls are immortal. And M. Tully also affirmeth that, saying: "As by nature we think there are Gods, and by reason we know what they be, so we hold opinion with the consent of all nations, that souls do still continue[4]." All the ancient writers therefore, and all that followed them, have said that souls are everlasting or immortal; as Trismegistus, Museus, Orpheus, Homerus, Pindarus, and Pherecydes the Syrian, the master of Pythagoras[5], and his scholar Socrates. Plato himself, who to learn the opinions of Pythagoras sailed into Italy[6], was not only of the same opinion that Pythagoras was of, touching the immortality of souls, but brought reasons also to confirm the same. These reasons, as Tully witnesseth, are many, that he which readeth his book cannot seem to desire any thing further[7]. Seneca so plainly affirmeth and proveth the immortality of souls, that nothing can be more plain[8]. And Epicte-

[3 Solum hominem credimus habere animam substantivam, quæ exuta corpore vivit, et sensus suos atque ingenia vivaciter tenet. Non cum corpore moritur, sicut Aratus asserit; neque post modicum intervallum, sicut Zenon dicit; quia substantialiter vivit. Animalium vero animæ non sunt substantivæ, sed cum carne ipsa carnis vivacitate nascuntur, et cum carnis morte finiuntur et moriuntur.—August. de Eccles. Dogm. 16. Opp. Tom. III. fol. 42. col. 4. Par. 1532.]

[4 Cic. Tusc. Quæst. Lib. I. cap. 16.]

[5 Id. ibid.] [6 Id. ibid. cap. 17.]

[7 Tot autem rationes attulit (Plato), ut velle ceteris, sibi certe persuasisse videatur.—Cic. ibid. cap. 21.]

[8 Senec. Epist. 117.]

tus, a famous philosopher, who lived in the time of Seneca, hath done no less[1]. If as yet there be any light-headed men to whom the immortality of the soul seemeth doubtful, or which utterly deny the same, these truly are unworthy to have the name of men; for they are plagues of the commonwealth, and very beasts, worthy to be hissed and driven out of the company of men. For he lacketh a bridle to restrain him, and hath cast away all honesty and shame, and is prepared in all points to commit any mischief, whosoever believeth that the soul of man is mortal.

In what place souls live when they are separated from their bodies.

I shewed that souls[2] by death being separated from their bodies do not die, but remain alive: it resteth now behind that I teach you, where the souls, when they are destitute of the dwelling-place, their bodies, lead their life and are conversant.

While they were coupled to the bodies, they used them as their dwelling-houses; so that, though they be said not to be limited in place, yet they do not wander out of their bodies, but they are as it were shut up in them as in prisons[3], until the time they be dissolved and set at liberty. Those same souls therefore being now dissevered from their bodies, since they retain their sound senses, their nature or disposition, and their whole substance in lively manner, albeit they are said, no, not even now to be limited in place, yet are they not let loose and run astray, having their abiding in no place; but being compact and set fast in their own essence or being are in some place again, having no new bodies, (for the souls are free even till the judgment-day, when they shall be joined again to their bodies;) howbeit certain abiding-places are prepared for them of God, wherein they may live. Although other, by my lieve, very subtilly and wittily do reason, how spirits are contained in place or not contained: I simply affirm with the scripture, that souls separated from bodies are taken up either into heaven itself, or else are drowned in the depth of hell; and that their being and abiding is even so there, that when they are here they are not elsewhere. For the Lord most plainly and pithily saith in the gospel, that the soul of beggarly Lazarus was carried into Abraham's bosom, and the soul of the rich glutton was cast down into hell. But

Luke xvi.

[1 Simplicii Comment. in Epicteti Enchirid. cap. 39.]
[2 hominum, Lat. omitted; of men.]
[3 ergastulis, Lat.]

that more is, it forthwith followeth in the history: "Between us and you" (for the blessed and cursed souls talk together) "there is a great gulf stedfastly set; so that they which would go from hence to you cannot, neither can they that would come from thence to us." And Paul also desireth "to be dis- Phil. i.
solved, and to be with Christ." We are dissolved by death: for when the soul departeth, the body is dissolved and dieth; the soul flieth unto Christ. But the scripture sheweth us that Christ is in heaven at the right hand of the Father. Now where heaven is, there is none but can tell; and we elsewhere have largely entreated of that matter[4].

In the gospel after St John the Lord himself calleth the conversation[5] of souls, which is prepared for the souls after they are separated from the bodies, both a place and mansion, and habitation or dwelling; adding these words thereupon, "I will receive you (even) unto myself, that where I am, John xiv.
there may ye be also." And therefore St John saw souls Rev. vi.
in heaven, abiding and taking their rest under the altar or protection of Christ: for thither, when they departed from their bodies, he had gathered them unto himself. Hereunto belongeth that notable place of the apostle Paul, marvellous fit for this purpose, written in the second to the Corinthians [v. 1.]
in these words: "We know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were destroyed, we have a building of God, even an habitation not made with hands, but eternal in heaven," &c. Lo, while our souls were joined to our bodies, they inhabited and dwelt in them as in their houses; but after our corruptible house is destroyed, God hath builded another better and of longer continuance, heaven I mean itself, into the which he lovingly receiveth our souls departing out of our bodies. For that manner body which we now have he calleth the house of this tent or tabernacle. For as tents for a time are made of light stuff, and pitched without any strong foundation, and a while after are pulled down, or do fall of their own accord; so a mortal body is given to men as a ruinous cottage, wherein they inhabit a few days, and immediately pack away again. St Peter used the like allegory. Against 2 Pet. i.
this (tent) he opposeth a building of everlasting continuance, heaven I mean itself: for when he had said that we have

[4 See Vol. I. page 145.]
[5 contubernium, Lat.]

"a building of God," he addeth by interpretation, (even) an "habitation not made with hands;" and yet more plainly, "eternal in heaven." Neither doth that which by and by followeth hinder this, or import another meaning: "for therefore sigh we, desiring (upon our clothing) to be further clothed with our house which is from heaven." For "from heaven" signifieth as much as if thou wouldest say, heavenly. Therefore the house of the soul is heavenly or heaven itself, a place, I say, appointed for blessed spirits. For verily the faithful soul shall dwell in heaven even unto that day, wherein the Lord shall judge the world with that his general judgment: then at the length the soul shall return to the body again being raised up, that after judgment the whole man, both soul and body, may live for ever with God. For thus witnesseth the apostle St Paul: "The Lord himself shall descend from heaven in a shout, and in the voice of the archangel, and in the trumpet of God, and the dead in Christ shall rise first: then we which live, which remain, shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air; and so shall we ever be with the Lord," namely, in the heavens which are above us where the clouds are seen. Therefore, omitting vain speculations and curious disputations, let us believe that there is a house prepared by the Lord in heaven for souls being separated from their bodies, into the which the faithful may be received; and again, that there is everlasting fire prepared, whereunto all the souls of all infidels or unbelievers may be cast.

The soul returneth to the body, but not before judgment.

1 Thess. iv.

We have taught, that heaven is the seat or habitation prepared of God to receive souls being separated from their bodies. It remaineth behind, that we shew after what manner and what time they should be translated thither after death. Touching the manner, I can say nothing else but that it is fully known unto God; and that, so far forth as seemeth sufficient for us, it is shadowed out in the scriptures; namely, that it is brought to pass by angels carrying up our souls with a most swift flight or moving. For the Lord saith in the gospel, that the soul of Lazarus was carried by angels into Abraham's bosom: of which thing also we spake before when we preached of God's angels[1]. But what man-

How souls should be translated to their appointed place.

[1 de angelis bonis, Lat.; of good angels, ed. 1577. See above, p. 335.]

ner of moving this is, whether natural or supernatural, I mean not to make search. I believe that what God promiseth, the same he performeth and accomplisheth; and he promising saith, "He is passed from death to life." Again, he said to the thief, "To-day shalt thou be with me in paradise," comprehending that his passage as it were in a moment. Hereunto we also necessarily add this, that it must be attributed to the merits of Christ that we are taken up into heaven; for he is the door and the way.

John v.

Luke xxiii.

At what time souls be carried up into heaven.

But at what time souls should be carried up into heaven, or cast down into hell, seemeth to be a question at this present not only profitable, but by all means necessary to be discussed; for in this our age there are evil-disposed persons who have corrupted the pure simplicity of this matter. For you shall find some will say, that the souls departing from the bodies go not by and by the right and ready way to heaven, but that, being as it were taken with a slumbering lethargy, they sleep until the last day of judgment[2]. You shall find other some contending, that souls cannot come into heaven unless they be perfectly purified with cleansing fire, which they call purgatory; as though they were intercepted by pirates and robbers in the midst of their journey, and cast into torments, until either they themselves make satisfaction, or other for them have paid as it were the debt which they had elsewhere borrowed[3]. But both of these things do I deny, and utterly deny: and I affirm that souls do not sleep, neither are they purged by any torments after the death of their body; but are waking and alive, and are forthwith after the death of the body, and even in a moment, either carried into heaven, being freed from all kind of torments, or otherwise cast down into hell.

Souls separated from their bodies do not sleep.

These sleepy-heads[4] have nothing to allege for this their lethargy or imagination of the sleep of the soul, but that the scripture oftentimes, describing the death of the saints, maketh mention of sleeping and laying to sleep; as, "he fell asleep, and was gathered unto (or laid by) his fathers;" and Paul

[2 Bullinger. adv. Anabapt. Lib. IV. cap. 10.]

[3 Canones Concil. Trident. Sess. XXV. decret. de Purgatorio.]

[4 Dormitantii, Lat. See Jerome's *play* on Vigilantius' name.—Hieron. Opp. Tom. IV. Par. II. pp. 280, &c. Par. 1706. and Gilly's Vigilantius and his times, pp. 349, 392. Lond. 1844.]

saith, speaking of those that die, "I would not have you ignorant concerning them which are asleep." But even as souls, when they were joined to these frail bodies, never slept, neither could sleep: so being delivered from the burden of the body, they are much less to be thought to sleep. To the body therefore is sleep to be referred. For whosoever dieth in a true faith, he sleepeth in the Lord. And as they that sleep, when their limbs are therewith refreshed, do immediately awake, rise, and labour; even so the body is not altogether extinguished by death, that it should not live again any more, but now verily it is received into rest, and at the day of judgment it riseth again and liveth. And for this cause holy men are said in the scriptures to sleep, not to die, that thereby the mystery of the resurrection of our flesh may be signified. Which thing these gross-headed men understand not: whereupon they attribute that to the soul which is proper to the body. Other arguments which they bring to confirm their madness are unworthy to be rehearsed: for either they violently wrest the scripture from the natural sense; or else by their corrupt reasoning they gather falsehood out of those things that are false.

Souls separated from the bodies are not carried into purgatory.

But they do err and are no less deceived than these sleeping doctors, which think that souls departing from their bodies go not by and by the right and ready way into heaven, but are caught in the midst of their journey, and carried into that purgatory fire, wherein they may be purged from the filthy spots of sins which they have gotten in the flesh; and that after they be purged, they are carried by angels into the presence of the most holy God. For either the souls are purged with that purgatory fire from the filth of their sins, or else they are washed and cleansed through the pain and grief of torments which there they do suffer. If sins be purged by virtue of that fire, then it followeth, that sinners are not sanctified by the only blood of the Son of God. But by what scriptures have they proved unto us that this power of purging is given to the fire? Hath God altered his mind and purpose, and set this fire instead of Christ to work our sanctification? Fie for shame! But if for our sufferings and torments' sake sins are forgiven, then it followeth that we are not purged by the cross and passion of Christ only. Let them teach us out of the scripture, that such worthiness is

attributed by God to our sufferings. But by the only blood and passion of Christ all those are sanctified that be sanctified, whosoever they be. Therefore purgatory is a wicked device of the devil, which darkeneth, yea, and maketh void the cross and merits of Christ. For what other thing do they account purgatory but a satisfaction for sins made by the souls separated from their bodies? In the gospel of John there is a question moved by the disciples of John the Baptist, touching the purifying of souls; and John Baptist declareth that the faithful are through Christ purified by faith; which thing he is believed to have testified also by the holy baptism. Moreover, the most excellent apostles do expressly witness, that all the faithful are cleansed by the only blood of Christ, and by his only passion and most sufficient merits. For Peter, who saith in the Acts, "Neither is there salvation in any other: for among men there is given no other name under heaven whereby we must be saved;" he, I say, hath written in his first canonical epistle: "Ye know that you were not redeemed with corruptible things, as with silver and gold, but with the precious blood of the immaculate Lamb." John the apostle also saith: "The blood of Christ Jesus, the Son of God, cleanseth us from all sin." And he again: "Christ loved us, and washed us from our sins by his own blood." And Paul, both to the Ephesians and to Titus, sheweth that we are purified by the only blood of the Son of God. Unto the Hebrews he saith: "By himself hath he purged our sins, and sitteth on the right hand of God in the highest places." It was not without signification that he said, "By himself," that he might thereby exclude all other means. Elsewhere he saith thus: "If righteousness come by the law, then Christ died in vain." For after the same manner we also do reason: If we be cleansed by purgatory fire, then in vain did Christ shed his blood to purge us; for what needed he to have suffered most grievous punishment, if we could have been cleansed by purgatory fire? Moreover, the whole scripture teacheth us, that Christ is our only satisfaction and propitiation: which thing we have at large shewed in other places[1]. And therefore souls make no satisfaction in purgatory, unless we will confess that men have no need of Christ.

Souls are purged by the only blood of Christ. John iii.

Acts iv.

1 Pet.

1 John i.

Rev. i.

Ephes. v. Tit. iii.

Heb. i.

Gal. ii.

[1 See Vol. I. pages 136, 167, Vol. II. page 200.]

These men do further feign, that the power to purge is given to the fire of purgatory by grace, or by the blood and merits of Christ, and that this fire purgeth not by his own virtue, but by the power of the Son of God[1]. But they have also forged this most wickedly. For the scripture in every place (as we also said even now) sendeth us back to the Son of God and the price of his blood and cleansing, whereof it teacheth that we are made partakers, while we live in this world, by faith and the Holy Ghost: but of purgatory it speaketh not a word in any place; neither saith it in any place that we by the grace of God are purged in another world. Therefore they steal away the glory which is proper unto the Son of God, and give it to a fire which is altogether forged and blasphemous. Furthermore, they appoint another time of grace out of this world, which is altogether strange unto the scriptures. For our Lord crieth in the gospel:

[John ix. 4.] "I must work the works of him that sent me, while it is day; the night cometh, when no man can work." And St Paul

Gal. vi. saith: "Let us do good," that is to say, let us be bountiful and liberal towards the poor, "while we have time." Which saying he seemeth to have taken out of Solomon's book of

Eccles. xi. the Preacher, saying: "When the clouds are full, they pour out rain upon the earth: and when the tree falleth, whether it be toward the south or north, in what place soever it fall, there it remaineth." He useth two allegories or dark speeches, by the which he teacheth the rich to be liberal. The first is taken from the clouds. The clouds from the earth do gather up vapours, which being thickened are immediately, as out of a sponge, pressed out and poured upon the earth to water it. Let rich men do the like, distributing again among men such riches as they have gotten among men. The second is taken of trees, which being felled lie in the same places in which they fall. The wise man therefore warneth us to do that in due season which we ought to do; for when we are departed from hence, there is no place of repentance. And in the gospel a tree is oftentimes put for a man; where also the right hand is put for heaven or the place of blessedness, as the left hand for hell or the place of damnation. Therefore this is his meaning: When thou art dead, thou shalt remain for ever either in damnation or blessedness. Men's testimonies are

[1 Alexander de Hales. Sum. Theol. Par. IV. quæst. 8.]

agreeable to the heavenly. For St Cyprian against Demetrianus saith: "When we shall be departed hence, there is then no place of repentance, satisfaction is of no value. Here life is either lost or gotten. Here is provision made for eternal salvation, by the serving of God and the fruit of faith[2]."

That souls are fully purged by the blood of Christ.

They object again, that souls when they depart from the body are purged indeed by the blood of the Son of God, but not fully; for there remains some filth to be washed away in purgatory[3]. For they depart out of this world not having a full and perfect faith, and therefore they be not altogether good: and again, since they have some faith, they be not altogether evil: and because they are not perfectly good, they cannot enter into heaven; again, since they are not altogether evil, they cannot be damned: and therefore there remaineth a middle place, wherein they may be fully tried[4], and at the length being purified may be presented into the sight of God. But these men after their manner feign what they list. But we have shewed by the holy scriptures, that the souls of the faithful are purged by the only blood of the Son of God through faith, and not by purgatory. Now will I also shew in that which followeth, that the sins of all men are purified fully, that is to say, most absolutely, by the only sacrifice of Christ; and further, that by the grace of God in the blood of Christ is forgiven in the very instant of death whatsoever infirmity and remnants of sin are behind in the souls of the faithful departing from the body. For the Lord saith in the gospel, "He that is washed, needeth not save to wash his feet, but is clean every whit." Behold he saith, "He is clean every whit;" that is, washed by the grace of Christ, so that the foulness of the feet, that is to say, the infirmity and imperfection which remaineth after regeneration, cannot bring him again into the number of those that are unclean. For the Lord saith again in the gospel, "And for their sakes sanctify I myself, that they also might be sanctified through the truth." The Lord gave up himself to be a sacrifice for our sins, to the end that we might be sanctified, that is,

John xiii.

John xvii.

[2 See above, p. 114.]

[3 Bellarmin. Controv. VI. Lib. I. cap. VII. col. 1358. Cranmer's Remains, ed. Parker Soc. p. 181.]

[4 excoquantur, Lat.]

purged from our sins truly, that is to say, fully and most per-
Heb. x. fectly. For Paul saith, "For with one offering hath he made perfect for ever them that are sanctified." Mark, I pray you, the apostle's words: "Christ with one oblation" (lo, he saith, with one) "hath perfectly sanctified all that are sanctified," and are made heirs of eternal life. Hereupon we gather: If by the one sacrifice of Christ once offered for us all souls are purified, and that indeed perfectly purified, so that there is nothing wanting to their purifying; what, I pray you, findeth purgatory to purify? Therefore it is a shameless forgery and horrible blasphemy against the merit of the purifying of Jesus Christ the Son of God. If there seem any thing to be diminished or wanting unto the soul now departing, Christ by his grace performeth and maketh it up whilst it is yet in the world. It is a wicked speech and unworthy to be heard among christian people, that by our sufferings in purgatory that is fulfilled which was not as yet fully satisfied[1] with the blood and passion of Christ: as if our sufferings were better and more effectual than the passion of the Son of God.

These men object unto us the weakness of faith in them that die: and we on the other side object unto them the mercy of
Mark ix. God, fully pardoning his faithful people. The father of the lunatic mentioned in the gospel, requiring help of the Lord, heareth: "If thou canst believe" (to wit, that I am able to heal thy son), "all things are possible to him that believeth." And albeit he felt his faith not altogether perfect, but that therein remained much weakness, yet the help of God was not hindered by the weakness thereof: for because he humbly submitted himself unto the mercy of the Lord, beseeching and saying, "Lord, I believe, help my unbelief;" the Lord by and by succoured him, and without delay healed his son. So there is no doubt that the most merciful Lord will fail his faithful people, to whom he hath promised most full forgiveness, acknowledging their weakness in the hour of death, and therefore also calling for the mercy of God; but that upon the instant of the going out of the soul he forthwith perfectly sanctifieth it with his Spirit for Christ's sake, and beautifieth it with all kind of graces, that, being truly purged from all the filth of sins, it may flee up, and deserve to appear in the presence of God. And this should

[1 expiatum, Lat.]

be beaten into the heads of them that are a dying. For there are extant most large promises of God; there are extant examples of many holy men dying and calling upon God.

Furthermore it is certain by those things which we have already alleged, that the death of Christ hath made full satisfaction for sins; so that now there remaineth nothing further to be cleansed with the fire of purgatory. Souls, after the death of the body, do flee the right and ready way into heaven, taking nothing away with them which needeth purging. Therefore that fire of purgatory is nothing else in very deed than a traffic or merchandise of most covetous men, whereby craftily and cunningly they purge the purses, not the souls, both of rich and poor[2].

These men by and by under-prop their purgatory building, which is a falling, with two posts. The first is this: They of old (say they) prayed for the salvation of souls separated from the body; therefore there is a purgatory. For since in heaven they have no need of prayers; surely in hell[3] prayers do no good, since in hell is no redemption; truly there is a middle place left wherein souls are kept, unto whom the prayers of the living do good: that place is purgatory[4]. Thus indeed they reason, howbeit imagining all things of their own heads, without the authority of the scriptures. But this is that they have to say, that they of old prayed for the dead. I know what Augustine, that famous doctor of the church, what Chrysostom, that golden-mouthed man, and other ancient and notable men have left written touching this matter. But I ask the question, Whether that which they did were well done? For not all things which the holy fathers said and did (who oftentimes have suffered something of man's invention) are absolutely to be allowed or followed. Those things are not to be allowed and followed, which are set down by them against the decrees of the scripture, (which thing they themselves unfeignedly confess[5];) but those things only which

Of prayer for the dead.

[2 Tyndale's Exposit. ed. Parker Soc. pp. 161-163. Answer to More, p. 146. Doctr. Treat. pp. 244, 303, 318. Sermons of Latimer, p. 50.]

[3 ex inferis, Lat.]

[4 Thomas Aquinas contra Gentiles. Lib. IV. cap. 91. Bellarmin. disput. de Controversiis, Lib. I. cap. 5. Controv. VI.]

[5 See Confutation of Unwritten Verities. Cranmer's Remains, &c. ed. Parker Soc. chap. II. pp. 22-36.]

are uttered and confirmed by the authority of holy scriptures, which largely and plainly contain whatsoever is necessary to be known in the doctrine of godliness. But thou canst find nothing in them of prayer for the dead. For that which some allege out of the second book of Maccabees proveth nothing; for that book is not canonical: which thing it behoved them to have learned long since even out of Hierome [1].

They add, That prayer for the dead is an unwritten tradition of the apostles [2]. I hear them; but I know well enough that the unwritten traditions of the apostles are not contrary to their written doctrines. I know well enough that the written doctrines of the apostles no where command prayers for the dead, and in no place allow them. When Paul the apostle exhorted the Thessalonians to moderation in lamenting
1 Thess. iv. for the dead [3], the time being then very fit and most convenient to give commandment concerning offering of prayers for the souls of the dead, if he had thought them any whit profitable and necessary; yet notwithstanding he maketh no manner mention of them, yea rather, he simply teacheth what they ought to believe touching the souls of the faithful being separated from their bodies, namely, that they live in everlasting blessedness with Christ, waiting and looking for the resurrection of their bodies [4]. But who cannot see that this certainty and plainness of the apostle's doctrine is entangled and perilously shaken with this feigned apostolic tradition? For if we believe in Christ, let us believe his words and promises. He himself said that he is the resurrection and life of the faithful, and that the souls of the believing even immediately upon the death of the body do escape and pass into life. If (I say) we believe these most true words of the Lord, why then do we, as yet being careful for the salvation of the souls of the dead, pray and make

[1 Machabæorum libros legit quidem ecclesia, sed inter canonicas scripturas non recipit.—Hieron. Præf. in Prov. Solom. Opp. Tom. I. fol. 939. Par. 1693. See also Bp. Cosin's Scholast. Hist. of Canon of Script. Chap. VI. § 71. p. 72. Lond. 1683. Fulke's Defence, &c. ed. Parker Soc. p. 24. Remains of Abp. Grindal, p. 23.]

[2 Bellarmin. Controv. I. Lib. IV. cap. 7. col. 164. Controv. VI. Lib. II. cap. 16. col. 1404. Jewel's Defence of Apology, ed. Parker Soc. p. 559.]

[3 mortem suorum, Lat.; the death of their brethren.]

[4 Cf. Sermons of Abp. Sandys, ed. Parker Soc. p. 163.]

supplication for them, as though they had not yet obtained salvation? By these our prayers truly we give a manifest proof that we doubt of our faith, and hope not after that, as concerning the salvation of our souls, which we do both profess with tongue, and which also the words of Christ and the apostles command us to hope after. The stedfast faith truly and assured hope of those that believe and stay themselves upon the promises of Christ do forbid us here to take and wear black mourning-garments in offerings for the dead, whose souls we believe to have already put on white garments: they forbid us to give occasion either to unbelievers, or to weaklings in faith, of reprehending us worthily, because we mourn and lament for them who we say do live with God, as if they were cast into hell-fire[5], and busily set ourselves awork with making humble prayers unto God to deliver the miserable souls out of torments; that is to say, because the faith, which we profess with tongue and voice, we condemn by the testimony of our heart and mind, yea, and of our outward works. If we go on after this sort, truly we are double-dealers in our hope and in our faith. The things which we speak seem to be dissembled, false, and feigned. For it availeth nothing in words to vaunt of virtue, and with deeds to destroy truth. Therefore let him that will receive this tradition (as they call it) of the apostles, touching the offering of prayers for the faithful departed: as for me, I mean to receive nothing repugnant to true faith and disagreeing from the apostles' doctrine, neither do I persuade any man to receive such vanity.

This also I cannot choose but tell you, that that which they call the tradition of the apostles St Augustine calleth the tradition of the fathers received of the church. For in his sermon, *de verbis Apostoli*, 32, he saith: "This which the fathers delivered the whole church observeth; to wit, that prayers should be made for them in the communion of the body and blood of Christ, when they in their own place are rehearsed at the very sacrifice, and the same is mentioned to be offered for them also[6]." And again, *de Cura pro Mortuis gerenda*, cap. 4,

[5 in ignes, Lat.; hell, not in Lat.]

[6 Hoc enim a patribus traditum universa observat ecclesia, ut pro eis qui in corporis et sanguinis Christi communione defuncti sunt, cum ad ipsum sacrificium loco suo commemorantur, oretur, ac pro illis

he saith: "Supplications or prayers for the souls of the dead are not to be neglected, which the church hath received to be made for all that be departed in the christian brotherhood; not rehearsing them by name, but in a general remembrance of them altogether[1]." Thus far he: who though in some place he stretch the traditions of the apostles very far, yet by these words this seemeth more expressly to be his meaning; that this rite or order of praying for the dead was delivered to the church by the fathers, and doubtless many years after the apostles' time was received of the church. The same Augustine defendeth in more places than one, that the receiving of the eucharist, or sacrament of the Lord's supper, is as necessary for infants being new come forth of their mother's womb to the attaining of salvation, as the sacrament of baptism. The chief and notable places, wherein he handleth that matter, are in his first book against Julianus Pelagianus, &c., and in his first book *de Peccatorum Meritis et Remissione*, against the Pelagians[2]. Neither doth he urge that opinion with less earnestness than the tradition, because that was received and very usual in the church in that age. But who at this day receiveth that ceremony as apostolical? Who seeth not that those good fathers, otherwise most faithful pastors, in that thing suffered some invention of man? The written doctrine of St Paul deserveth at this day more to be esteemed than that ancient tradition of the church. Paul writeth: "Let every man examine himself, and so let him eat of this bread and drink of this cup." Whereby all men understand that the eucharist, or sacrament of the Lord's supper, is for them to receive that are of perfect age, and not for infants. For that cause it was lawful for our elders to forsake that tradition, and to draw more near to the scripture. Let them therefore in this matter give us leave also to depart from the uncertain tradition of the fathers, and to cleave to the most assured faith and doctrine of the apostles.

1 Cor. xi.

quoque id offerri commemoretur.—August. de Verbis Apost. Serm. XXXII. Opp. Tom. X. fol. 84. col. 1. Par. 1532.]

[1 Non sunt prætermittendæ supplicationes pro spiritibus mortuorum, quas faciendas pro omnibus in Christiana et catholica societate defunctis, etiam tacitis nominibus quorumque sub generali commemoratione, suscepit ecclesia.—Id. Tom. IV. fol. 200, col. 2.]

[2 Id. Tom. VII. fol. 192, &c., and fol. 134, &c. Par. 1532.]

But Ærius (say they) was condemned for this cause, for that he believed prayers were unprofitable for the dead[3]. I know indeed that Ærius was condemned, neither do I take upon me to defend him, whom Phylastrius, Epiphanius, and Augustine do make mention to have been an Arian, and a man polluted with other foul errors[4]. But touching prayers for the dead, whether they be profitable or unprofitable, there is no doubt that they are catholics and not heretics, who believe that which is delivered and set down in the Apostles' creed: for according to the tradition of this creed we believe the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of this flesh, and life everlasting. They which believe these things obtain undoubtedly whatsoever they believe. For the Lord said to the Centurion: "Go thy way, and as thou hast believed, so be it done unto thee." Therefore whosoever believeth forgiveness of sins and life everlasting hath obtained forgiveness of sins, and surely he shall live in everlasting life. Which thing, if that be true, as it cannot be false, which is delivered unto us in the Apostles' creed, what place, I pray you, shall prayers have for the dead? For the dead have their sins forgiven them: therefore all lets and delays unto life are taken away, and so they live with God. But they which have not believed have retained and kept their sins still, and, being cast down into the bottomless lake, stick fast in the mire of hell. Which things since they are so of a certainty, truly there is no use of praying for the dead, neither before God, nor among the faithful. Hereunto are annexed so many examples of the saints in both the Testaments, which are to be preferred both before traditions and condemnations of men. Which, I pray you, of the holy fathers ever prayed for their dead? Did Adam pray for his Abel? Did the sons pray for their father Adam? What prayers did Abraham offer to God for the soul of his father Thare, or for the soul of his most dear wife Sara? What prayers poured Esau and Jacob forth for their father Isaac when he died? the twelve sons of Israel for Jacob? Salo-

Ærians condemned.

Matt. viii.

[3 Bellarmin. Controv. VI. Lib. I. cap. 2. col. 1325.]

[4 S. Philastrii Lib. de Hæres. p. 491. § 44. Vet. Pat. Biblioth. Tom. VII. Ven. 1670. Epiphan. adv. Hæres. Lib. III. Tom. I. § 1. p. 905. Opp. Tom. I. Par. 1622. August. Opp. Tom. VI. fol. 6. col. 1. Par. 1532.]

mon for David? In the new Testament John Baptist is beheaded of Herod, Stephen stoned of the Jews, James his head is cut off by the shoulders at the commandment of Agrippa; their disciples bury their bodies, and do all things religiously belonging to their burials: but in so many funerals there is no mention made of prayer for the souls of the dead; for they believed that they forthwith after death were carried into everlasting life. Who then after so many notable examples, and after so clear profession of the catholic and sincere faith, can tie us to the necessity of praying for the souls of the dead? Who can say hereafter that we are heretics, who fulfil that in work which we profess in profession of faith or confession of the mouth; yea, which do no other thing than the most excellent worshippers of God of both Testaments have done before us?

Appearing of spirits.

The last post, wherewith they underprop their purgatory, lest it should fall, is the appearing of spirits[1]. For Rabanus, a bishop, sheweth out of the testimonies of pope Gregory and reverend Beda, that the souls of dead men have very often appeared, and taught that oblations and prayers do profit them very much[2]. But I wonder that men of learning would ground their work upon so rotten and ruinous foundations;

Deut. xviii.

for the Lord in the law forbiddeth to ask the truth of the spirits or souls of the dead. In the Prophets we are sent

Isai. viii.

from such oracles to the law and the testimony. In Luke

Luke xvi.

the rich glutton crieth in torments, and saith: "I pray thee, father Abraham, that thou wouldest send Lazarus to my father's house, for I have five brethren, that he may witness unto them, lest they also come into this place of torment." But he heareth: "They have Moses and the prophets; let them hear them." But when the rich glutton had answered, "No, father Abraham; but if one come unto them from the dead, they will believe and[3] repent;" he heareth again, "If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they believe,

[1 Bellarmin. disput. de Controversiis. Controv. VI. Lib. I. cap. 7. coll. 1361, 2, 1375, 1384, 1390. Magdeb. Centur. Cent. VIII. cap. 13. col. 498. Vol. II. Cent. X. cap. 14. col. 385. Cent. XII. cap. 13. col. 886. Vol. III. Basil. 1624.]

[2 Rabani Mauri de Instit. Cleric. Lib. II. cap. 44. Tom. VI. fol. 27. col. 1. Col. Agrip. 1626.]

[3 believe and, not in Lat.]

if one rise from death." Therefore it is most certain, and confirmed by the authority of the gospel, that blessed souls[4] are not sent of God unto us to teach us any thing. Who, I pray you, would give ear to wicked and condemned souls? The gospel of Christ sendeth us all to the canonical scripture. Whereupon it followeth, that the testimonies which are fetched from oracles or appearings of the spirits of the dead are of no weight, but most deceivable and full of lying.

That souls separated from their bodies do not wander in these regions.

Man's testimonies are agreeable with God's; which also teach us, that souls being separated from their bodies cannot wander or stray in these regions. The words are too long to rehearse, which Tertullian learnedly disputeth of this matter in the end almost of his book *De Anima;* yet they are all levelled to this mark, to shew that souls separated from their bodies, and appointed to their places, do not return again into this world. To the objection of some that boast of art magic, and also that by the power of God many have returned from the dead into this life, he answereth: "But although the power of God hath called back again some souls into their bodies, to give us instruction of his might and right; yet therefore that shall not be communicated with the credit and boldness of magicians, and the deceitfulness of dreams, and licentiousness of poets: but in the examples of the resurrection, when God's power, either by prophets, or by Christ, or by apostles, bringeth souls into bodies, it is manifestly declared by sound, evident, and full truth, that it is the shape of a true body: that thou mightest judge all appearings of dead men without bodies to be delusions[5]." Therefore Chrysostom in his twenty-ninth Homily upon Matthew demanding: "What then shall we answer to those speeches; I am such a soul?" he answereth; "It is not the soul of that dead body which speaketh these things, but the devil, who de-

[4 ne beatas quidem animas, Lat.; that not even blessed souls.]

[5 Sed etsi quasdam revocavit in corpora Dei virtus, in documenta juris sui, non idcirco communicabitur fidei et audaciæ Magorum, et fallaciæ somniorum, et licentiæ poëtarum. Atquin in resurrectionis exemplis, cum Dei virtus, sive per prophetas, sive per Christum, sive per apostolos in corpora animas repræsentat, solida et contrectabili et satiata veritate, præjudicatum est hanc esse formam veritatis, ut omnem mortuorum exhibitionem incorporalem præstigias judices.—Tertull. de Anim. cap. 57. Opp. ed. Semler. Tom. IV. p. 287. Hal. Magd. 1824.]

viseth these things to deceive them that hear him." And anon he saith: "Wherefore these are to be counted the words of old wives and of dotards, and children's toys and phantasies." And again: "A soul separated from the body cannot wander in these regions. For the souls of the righteous are in the hands of God, and the souls of infants likewise: for they have not sinned. And the souls of the wicked after this life are by and by carried away: which is made apparent by Lazarus and the rich glutton. But in another
Luke xii. place the Lord also saith: 'This night they shall require thy soul again from thee.' Therefore the soul, when it departeth from the body, cannot wander here with us: and that not without cause. For if they which go a journey, chancing into unknown countries, know not whither they are like to go, except they have a guide; how much more shall the soul be ignorant whither it shall go, after it hath left the body and entereth altogether into a new life and strange way, unless it have a guide! Out of many places of the scripture it may be proved, that the souls of just and righteous men
Acts vii. do not go astray[1] after death. For Stephen saith, 'Lord
Phil. i. Jesu, receive my spirit.' And Paul desired to be loosed and
Gen. xxv. to be with Christ. Of the patriarch the scripture also saith, 'He died in a quiet (or good) age, and was gathered unto (or
Luke xvi. laid by) his fathers.' And that the souls of the wicked cannot tarry or have their abiding here, give ear what the rich glutton saith, and consider what he craveth, and obtaineth not. For if the souls of men might be conversant here, he had come himself as he desired, and had certified his brethren of the torments of hell. Out of which place of scripture this also plainly appeareth; that souls after their going out of the body are carried into some certain appointed place, from whence they cannot return of their own accord when they will return, but wait and look for that terrible day of judgment[2]." Thus much hitherto out of Chrysostom.

[1 non errare hic, Lat.; do not wander up and down here.]

[2 Αὐτοὶ, φησὶν, οἱ δαιμονῶντες βοῶσιν, ὅτι ψυχὴ τοῦ δεῖνος ἐγώ. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο σκηνή τις καὶ ἀπάτη διαβολική. Οὐ γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ τελευτηκότος ἐστὶν ἡ βοῶσα, ἀλλ' ὁ δαίμων ὑποκρινόμενος ταῦτα ὥστε ἀπατῆσαι τοὺς ἀκούοντας. . . . Ὥστε γραϊδίων μεθυόντων ταῦτα τὰ ῥήματα, καὶ παίδων μορμολύκεια. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔνι ψυχὴν ἀποῤῥαγεῖσαν τοῦ σώματος ἐνταῦθα πλανᾶσθαι λοιπόν· ψυχαὶ γὰρ δικαίων ἐν χειρὶ Θεοῦ· εἰ δὲ αἱ τῶν δικαίων,

Against these things they oppose the appearing of Samuel fetched from the holy scriptures; whereby they go about to prove that souls return again after death, and instruct men touching things which they shall demand. We answer in few words, that that disguised masker, which seemed to be Samuel, was called Samuel by a trope or figure, but in very deed he was not Samuel: for of a certainty it was a spirit, a juggling and delusion of Satan. For sorcery is straitly forbidden in the law of the Lord: therefore blessed spirits obey not forbidden ways and unlawful practices, which, when they were as yet joined with their fleshly bodies, by all means abhorred and resisted them in their assaults: as for damned spirits, they exercise themselves therein. But who would believe their oracles? Samuel[3] (say they) foretold what happened the morrow after. And what of that? That was no hard matter for the devil, since that the true and living Samuel foretold many things a little while before: but this crafty fox might foreknow the judgment of God which was to come, even by things present, and by the fear and quaking of the hosts. Tertullian in his book *De Anima* saith: "God forbid we should believe that the soul of any saint, much less the soul of a prophet, can be fetched up by the devil; since we have learned that Satan is transformed into an

Samuel after his death appeared not to Saul.

1 Sam. xxviii.

καὶ αἱ τῶν παίδων· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκεῖναι πονηραί· καὶ αἱ τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν δὲ εὐθέως ἐντεῦθεν ἀπάγονται. Καὶ δῆλον ἀπὸ τοῦ Λαζάρου καὶ τοῦ πλουσίου. Καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ δέ φησιν ὁ Χριστός· Σήμερον τὴν ψυχήν σου ἀπαιτοῦσιν ἀπὸ σοῦ. Καὶ οὐχ οἷόν τε ψυχὴν ἐξελθοῦσαν τοῦ σώματος ἐνταῦθα πλανᾶσθαι· καὶ μάλιστα εἰκότως· εἰ γὰρ ἐν γῇ βαδίζοντες τῇ συνήθει καὶ γνωρίμῳ, καὶ σῶμα περικείμενοι, ὅταν ξένην ὁδὸν ὁδεύωμεν, ποίαν ἐλθεῖν δεῖ οὐκ ἴσμεν ἂν μὴ τὸν χειραγωγοῦντα ἔχωμεν, πῶς ἡ τοῦ σώματος ἀποῤῥαγεῖσα ψυχὴ, καὶ τῆς συνηθείας ἐξελθοῦσα πάσης, εἴσεται ποῦ δεῖ βαδίζειν ἄνευ τοῦ καθοδηγοῦντος αὐτήν; καὶ πολλαχόθεν δὲ ἑτέρωθεν ἄν τις κατίδοι, ὅτι οὐκ ἔνι ψυχὴν ἐξελθοῦσαν ἐνταῦθα μεῖναι· καὶ γὰρ ὁ Στέφανός φησι· Δέξαι τὸ πνεῦμά μου· καὶ ὁ Παῦλος, Τὸ ἀναλῦσαι καὶ σὺν Χριστῷ εἶναι πολλῷ μᾶλλον κρεῖττον· καὶ περὶ τοῦ πατριάρχου δέ φησιν ἡ γραφή· Καὶ προσετέθη πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας αὐτοῦ, τραφεὶς ἐν γήρει καλῷ. Ὅτι δὲ οὐδὲ αἱ τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν ψυχαὶ διατρίβειν ἐνταῦθα δύνανται, ἄκουσον τοῦ πλουσίου πολλὰ ὑπὲρ τούτου παρακαλοῦντος, καὶ οὐκ ἐπιτυγχάνοντος. Ὡς εἴγε ἦν δυνατὸν, αὐτὸς ἂν ἦλθε καὶ ἀνήγγειλε τὰ ἐκεῖ γεγενημένα. Ὅθεν δῆλον ὅτι μετὰ τὴν ἐντεῦθεν ἀποδημίαν εἰς χώραν τινὰ ἀπάγονται αἱ ψυχαὶ, οὐκ ἔτι κυρίαι οὖσαι ἐπανελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὴν φοβερὰν ἐκείνην ἡμέραν ἀναμένουσαι.—Chrysostom. Hom. in Matth. xxviii. (al. xxix.) foll. 336, 7. Tom. VII. Par. 1727.]

[3 Sed prædixit, Lat.; But Samuel, &c.]

angel of light, much more into a man of light; yea, that he will pretend that he is God, and will shew wonderful signs, to overthrow, if it were possible, even the elect[1]," &c. St Augustine is of the same judgment concerning that appearing. Lib. *ad Simplicianum* II. quæst. 3; and *ad Dulcitii* quæst.[2] &c.

By these testimonies it is abundantly declared, I trust, that souls of men separated from bodies do not wander or appear after death in these regions; for they remain until judgment in the places appointed for them by the determination and providence[3] of God. Wherefore they are neither sent by God, neither can they enter in unto men to instruct and warn them either of things present or of things to come. Whereupon it followeth, that appearing of souls, that revelations and oracles, are mere delusions of Satan, ordained contrary to the sincerity and pureness of true religion. And because they which do what they can to prove unto us that there is purgatory use the defence and safeguard of these vanities; it is undoubtedly true that they prove a falsehood by deceit, and an uncertain thing by a thing of much more uncertainty. Furthermore, it remaineth undoubtedly true, that purgatory, wherein souls having put off their bodies should be purged unto life everlasting, cannot be shewed out of the scriptures.

Souls certainly and immediately after the death of the body are blessed.

And because we have removed and put by the lets which were cast in the way to hinder the most speedy journey, we return to our purpose; wherein we intended to declare that the souls of the faithful, separated by death from the body, do immediately after the death of the body pass the right and ready way into heaven, and so most certainly and upon the sudden be saved. Likewise we understand, that the souls of the unfaithful are thrust down the right and ready way into hell, and that by and by after the death of the body they perish with most certain and sudden damnation. For the

[1 Absit alioquin ut animam cujuslibet sancti, nedum prophetæ, a dæmonio credamus extractam, edocti quod ipse Satanas transfiguretur in angelum lucis, etiam Deum se adseveraturus, signaque portentosiora editurus, ad evertendos, si fieri possit, electos.—Tertull. de Anim. cap. 57. ed. Semler. Tom. IV. p. 286.]

[2 August. Opp. Tom. IV. fol. 139. col. 1. and fol. 142. coll. 3, 4. Par. 1532.]

[3 and providence, not in Lat.]

Lord expressly saith in the gospel: "He that believeth in the Son of God is not condemned (or judged); but he that believeth not is condemned (or judged) already, because he hath not believed in the name of the only begotten Son of God." John iii. Again: "He that believeth in the Son of God hath eternal life; but he that believeth not the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him." [v. 36.] And yet again: "This is the will of him that sent me, that every one which seeth the Son, and believeth on him, hath everlasting life; and I will raise him up at the last day." [vi. 40.] Now the last day of man is the point of death: in it Christ saveth us by his power, lest our soul should either perish or feel any torments, but that it might live and enjoy everlasting blessedness. Moreover[4], the last day is that last day of judgment, wherein Christ shall raise again and judge all flesh, glorifying the bodies of his faithful people unto life everlasting. The last day of man.

Again the Lord saith in the gospel: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that heareth my word, and believeth on him that sent me, hath everlasting life, and shall not come into judgment (or damnation); but is escaped from death unto life." John v. These only words of our Lord are able enough (without any gain-saying) to set forth, declare, prove, and confirm sufficiently our opinion concerning the most certain and sudden salvation of souls. For first of all, lest any man should doubt of the most assured truth touching the matter which he was setting forth, immediately upon the beginning most holily he sweareth, that is to say, he confirmeth the truth by giving witness thereunto with an oath. Afterwards he annexeth the whole manner of our salvation; which consisteth in hearing the word of God, and in true faith which receiveth the truth of God's word: for it is not enough to have heard the word of the gospel, unless we cleave unto the same by true faith. But now mark with what assurance Christ promiseth life and salvation to them that believe in him: "He hath life everlasting," saith he: he said, "he hath," not, he shall have. Therefore he left no space either to doubting, or to space of time. Yea, yet more plainly, by interpretation expounding when and how the faithful have or obtain life, he saith: "He shall not

[4 Est præterea, &c. Lat. Again the last day is. In these two senses Bullinger also explains "the last day" in Comment. in Joan. in loc. cit.]

come into judgment (or damnation), but is escaped from death unto life." They come into judgment, which have their cause to be examined and discussed before the judge. They come also into judgment, which by the sentence of the judge are punished for their evil cause. But the faithful have no cause to be tried and discussed before the judge; for their sins are fully forgiven them. "It is God which justifieth and forgiveth. Who is he that condemneth?" Therefore they are not subject to any punishments; for Christ bare the punishment of the cross, that his faithful people might be delivered and saved harmless from all torments. But rather, lest any man should think there were a stay or space of time between the death of the body and the life of the world to come, he saith: "But is escaped from death unto life." Lo, he saith, "He is escaped," not, He shall escape; that by the verb of the preter tense he might signify the certainty of the time past[1], and might shew that the souls of them that believe are by and by after the death of the body caught up into life everlasting. And I know well enough that the adversaries here have no sound argument to set against so manifest and invincible a truth. Indeed, with their wrangling words and their sophistry they may wrestle with the truth; but to overthrow the truth they are never able. For the souls of the faithful even out of the very mouth (as is commonly said, "*Von mund auf zu himmel faren*[2]") upon a sudden enter into their blessed seats, and by faith enjoy everlasting felicity.

Rev. xiv. Again, we read in the revelation of our Lord Jesus Christ made to John the apostle, that it was said: "And I heard a voice from heaven, saying unto me, Write, Blessed are the dead which hereafter die in the Lord[3]: even so saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours, and their works follow them." In these words an heavenly and undoubted oracle touching the blessednesses of all such as die in faith is knit up: and St John is commanded to write the oracle from

[1 of the time past, not in Lat.]

[2 Ascend to heaven from the very mouth.]

[3 So Tyndale, 1525; Coverdale, 1535; Cranmer, 1539; and the Geneva version, 1557. The Vulgate reads, Amodo jam dicit Spiritus, (From henceforth now, saith the Spirit, Douay); but Erasmus notes: Græci sic distinguunt, ut amodo sit finis sententiæ, ut sit sensus, *Posthac* fore beatos, qui in Domino fuerint mortui. Annot. in loc.]

heaven, that it may remain to all times, and be read of all people. The sum of the oracle is this, "Blessed are the dead, which hereafter die in the Lord." But they die in the Lord, whosoever depart out of this life in the faith of Jesus Christ; for so the apostle useth this kind of speech in the 1 Cor. xv. and 1 Thess. iv. Furthermore, they which depart out of this life in the faith of Jesus Christ are simply and truly pronounced blessed, to wit, happy and free from all misery. Yea, a note of the time when they shall obtain this blessedness is added, namely, Hereafter (ἀπάρτι), that is to say, presently, at an instant[4], by and by, out of hand, to wit, as the Lord saith in the gospel, forthwith after the death of the body. There is added also another testimony, whereby again the certainty of felicity is expressed, and perfection too not delayed till the morrow: "Even so, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours." The Spirit, I mean, of truth, which cannot lie, saith, ναὶ, that is to say, Amen, so it is: truly the faithful are blessed indeed; and even at an instant they are blessed; and so blessed, that "they rest from their labours." The labours of the faithful are miseries, calamities, afflictions, sorrow, fear or dread, and other evils of this sort, wherewith in this world they are vexed, yea, rather exercised in faith. From these things the souls of the faithful departing from their bodies are delivered: therefore they are not purged by torments and vexations, they are not scorched in the midst of their journey; but, being happy and blessed, are forthwith delivered from all anguish and trouble. And if so be that they suffered anything whiles they were yet living in the body, if they did any good works in faith, they "do follow them." Let no man think that those works, because they now cease, were and are vain; for they receive their reward in that blessed life. For that it is, that "their works do follow them." And let us mark, that he saith not, the works of other follow them, to deliver them forsooth out of purgatory; but, their own works follow them. For in the gospel also, the wise virgins, which had oil ready in their lamps, went in with the bridegroom to the marriage: the foolish virgins,

[4 ἀπάρτι significat, ab instanti, ab illa hora, protinus et continuo, einswegs, von stund an. Bulling. in Apoc. Conc. 65. p. 205. Basil. 1570.]

which had[1] prepared themselves no oil, but did hope to have from elsewhere to serve their turn, are excluded and shut out from joy.

To the omnipotent God therefore, our most merciful Father, and continual running fountain of all good graces and which is never drawn dry, who fashioned our body in our mother's womb, and breathed or poured into it a reasonable soul, which might whilst it is joined to the body quicken and direct us, and when it is separated from the body might forthwith after the death of the body be translated into heaven, there to live in joy and happiness until it return again unto the body being raised from the dead in the last judgment, with the which it may rejoice and be glad for ever and without end; to that God, I say, through Jesus Christ, for whose sake we are made partakers of so great a benefit, be glory, praise, and thanksgiving for evermore. Amen.

[1] in vita, Lat. omitted; in their lifetime.]

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